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ABSTRACT

This book is a compilation of 16 speeches given at a 1977 conference in Adelaide, Australia on the theme of community education. Topics covered include definitions and meanings of community education, the relationship between schools and the community, and the role of teachers in school-community relationships. The final chapters discuss community education in South Australia, Victoria, and England. (LD)

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THE COMMUNITY AND EDUCATION

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INTRODUCTION

THE COMMUNITY AND EDUCATION

At the Eighteenth Annual Conference of The Australian College of Education held in Adelaide in May 1977 a different aspect of the theme was considered on each of three days. These aspects were: Community Education, Education in the Community and The Community in Education. In his review of the Conference, presented as the last chapter of this volume, Mr. J. Watson has discussed the main addresses and the syndicate papers under each of these three headings and in the context of the Conference itself. It was not possible, however, to include in this publication all the papers prepared for or read at the Conference and, therefore, some to which he refers do not appear. Also in the context of a book it seemed more desirable to arrange the chapters according to the content of the papers rather than in the structure of the Conference programme. The first six chapters, therefore, are concerned with the "community" defined or explained according to the interests of the authors. The Presidential Address by Professor Johnson was original in concept and inspiring to all who heard it. The following five chapters differ considerably in their methods of exploration of the meaning of the relationship between the community and education. Certainly they differ in their understanding of the meaning of the word, "community" which, not unexpectedly, was never clearly defined during the Conference.

The next four chapters are concerned with schools. They ask questions about "community schools", the meaning of community education, the relationship between schools and the community and the role and understanding of the teacher in school-community relationships. Mr. Cave's paper which follows asks for serious thought about the roles of schools and other forms of organisation in providing education for all members of the community while Mr. McMullen is concerned with the community and the more formal fields of education beyond secondary education.

The three chapters which follow are descriptive of forms of "community education" in different fields. Mr. Kloeden's paper is important because of the explanation it gives of the meaning and purposes of the work of the Department of Further Education in South Australia. The description of the development of Christian Community Schools in Victoria by Mr. Farley offers a model for action for those interested in developing schools in response to local community needs. Mr. Fary's paper on school-community relationships in England has been included because it provides another perspective on the theme of the community and education and gives an opportunity to compare and contrast what is happening in Australia with developments and trends in another country.

The editorial committee had planned to include in this publication many more descriptions of the varied forms of community education in Australia. Mr. G. Boomer of the Department of Education in South Australia had prepared a bulletin for the Conference in which he provided descriptions of a selection of seventy projects from different parts of Australia. In his editorial he emphasised that it was only a selection and then added, "It should give the reader an impression of the scope and variety of iniatives and, if the editor's response is at all typical, it should engender some excitement, maybe even surprise." Conference members also received another large brochure, *"Community Education (A summary of what is happening in South Australian Government schools)"*. In addition to these valuable resource materials eleven other papers were available. Eight of these described different forms of community education in Australia and three came from overseas: Singapore, Korea and the U.S.A. It seemed better, therefore, not to attempt to make a selection from so much material but rather to consider the possibility of a separate publication either by the College or in co-operation with other organisations.

FOREWORD

Mr. W. R. Crocker, the Lieutenant Governor of South Australia, and at the time Acting Governor, opened the Annual Conference. Because his words were thoughtful and provoking and relevant to the theme his address is presented as a Foreword to this volume.

The theme of this, your Eighteenth Conference, is Community Education: The Education of the Community: The Community in Education. Rather wide terms, perhaps: rather a temptation to the free-wheeling talker. But their import is clear enough — education as it affects, and as it is affected by, any community concerned.

During the 8 years I spent in India, at and after the time India became independent, there was much debate on education because Gandhi, like a long series of powerful minds before him, from Plato on through Milton to Whitehead, Russell and other moderns, saw the subject as primordial. Gandhi was greatly exercised over what he saw as two primary requirements for the India of his dreams, one was what he called basic education, by which he meant education for the total human being in the environment he happened to be living in, more specifically education for the Indian in the Indian village. He gave much importance to the production of food and clothing, to composting waste, to rejecting machines, to handicrafts, to health, and to religion. The other requirement was community development with the emphasis on self-help.

It is now 30 years since Gandhi was assassinated; and his ideas, one by one, have been set aside in India. They were defeated mainly by Nehru, Gandhi's chosen heir, and the heir, too, who never lost his awe of Gandhi's moral stature. One of the poignant ironies of history. Nehru was as much an Indian Nationalist as Gandhi could wish, but there was another infatuation Nehru never lost and that was the socialism, the machine — worshipping, and the H. G. Wells kind of optimism, he picked up in his youth in Britain. He loathed village life as barbarous and his dreams were of steel works, factories and atomic energy. This last dream has flowered recently into the Indian thermonuclear bomb.

As my little speech, Mr. President, is to be an hors d'oeuvre before the substantial meal from you I will limit myself to reminding the Conference of a few points which I hope it will not overlook in the course of its discussions.

Two of them are of vital interest to the community but too often they are overlooked by professional educators.

The first is the cost of education today. In South Australia education is far and away the biggest item in the State's Budget. In the Commonwealth Budget it amounts to a huge figure. The University of Adelaide alone, only one of a dozen or so tertiary institutions here, costs about 40 million dollars a year. In the United States only what is called defence takes a bigger share of the taxpayers' money. We of the twelve richest nations of the world are subjected to very high, and ever increasing, taxation; some economists, such as Colin Clark, say so high that it has become self-defeating. Be this as it may, there is no doubt of the extent and the significance of the questioning now beginning as to whether the taxpayer is getting a fair return for his outlay on education. Even the Labour Prime Minister of Britain has been asking the question. The signs are that there is going to be a reaction. How much of this reaction and its possible damages we can avoid will depend largely on the educators themselves and their recognition of their responsibilities.

The second point often overlooked is that the community, not only the teachers, have an interest, a vital interest, in what is being taught, and how. Universities do not belong to the staff, teachers do not own the schools, still less do they own the pupils in them. War, Clemenceau once remarked, is too important to be left to the Generals. It has recently become certain that education is too important to be left to the teachers. Some of the experimentation imposed on our children — and imposed too with the arrogance which goes with certain experts — has gone too far. It is probable that historians of the future will debate whether America suffered more damage from John Dewey and his heady stuff than from certain other social phenomena of that country, such as gangsterism or the cult that what is good for General Motors is good for U.S.A.

This brings me to another point bearing on the theme of Education and the Community. It is posed by Walker in his History of the Press in New South Wales. "How", he asks "did it come about that despite universal secondary and increasing tertiary education the main newspapers now demand less concentration and basic knowledge from the reader than eighty-five years ago when few people had secondary education?" Well might we too ask that question. Why, when so much money and so much effort are being spent on education are speech and expression getting worse? Why can the advertisers, in political no less than in commercial affairs, get away with so much misrepresentation and so much irrationality? Why are manners and standards of considerateness going down? Why is boredom going up?

Whether the invention of television has done more harm than the invention of the motor car I leave to others. What is not in doubt is that television, conjoined with radio and the press, in short the media of mass communications, especially when handed over to professional advertisers concerned mainly if not wholly with profit, has been immensely influential in and on the community. America where I have lived on 3 separate occasions, leaves no doubt that, the mass media for sizeable segments of society decide, standards of taste, behaviour, habits of mind, and sheer mindlessness; and from infancy. Our main political effort in the last 30 years has gone into improving the material standards of living, into getting rid of the slums. Yet this effort has been accompanied by an ever more potent and more impudent inculcation of mental slums. Mankind has known many difficulties and challenges, but few like this. For many members of the community, perhaps for the majority, the mass media supersede schools, homes, religion. Their influence cuts across family, class, and quality. Their owners, or operators, claim the right to do as they do on the ground that this is what the people want; and they claim the right in the name of freedom of expression. The freedom they are really concerned with, however, is the freedom to make profits, let the cultural and social cost be what it may.

You educators will be in an ivory tower if you refuse to identify this rival to your labours and to devise counter-action. Marshall Macluhan, the North American cassandra on the subject, does not write prettily, or with exemplary balance, but he has put his finger on some uncomfortable facts which cannot be swept under the carpet.

This recalls what will be my concluding point, education in and for a community which is rapidly becoming technological. More and more we are moving into the technological society. It promises good things. It also promises enormous problems — and not only from its highest flight, the appalling thermonuclear weapons.

It is already a very difficult society to run, not only because of the technical and intellectual complexities involved but because of such side effects as pollution and nervous strains and leisure problems. It is, too, highly fragile, as strikes, and energy and water shortages, and inflation, and steeply rising delinquency rates, remind us.

The technological society can be made to work, and it can be prevented from destroying us, but only by the production of enough educated people. Don't be misled by current fashionable cliches against elites. The task before us, and especially before you educators, will not be met by the standards of cheap-jacks and ockers. We can welcome all contributions to gaiety and cheerfulness, but there is a limit to the moronic. The task for education more than even is, on the one hand, the acquiring and sifting and organising of knowledge and then the imparting of it, and, on the other hand, the developing of minds with an edge to them, minds which can cut through fashion and ideologies to truth and reality.

SOME DIMENSIONS OF COMMUNITY

R. JOHNSON

In editing the papers given at an annual conference it is usual to modify or delete the references to the local conference scene.

This Presidential Address however made such an impact on the audience that it is printed as it was delivered. Whether Professor Johnson intended it or not, his words were a challenge and encouragement to every person who heard them. By retaining the words addressed to the audience and the personal nature of the text it is hoped that readers will be able to share, to some extent at least, the feelings and response of those who were present in the Bonython Hall in the University of Adelaide on the evening of the Official Opening of the Conference.

Your Excellency, Deputy Chancellor, our distinguished guests, my fellow members of The Australian College of Education; once upon a time, two and a half thousand years ago, the ruler of the entire Middle East, the King of Persia, invaded the small country of Greece. The Greek cities were at odds amongst themselves; some resisted the Persians, some gave in. There was great concern as to how the city of Athens would respond to the threats and blandishments of Persia; some Greeks tried to persuade the Athenians to surrender, some tried to persuade them to resist. Let me quote to you the Athenian reply: "Were we offered all the gold in the world, and the fairest and richest country the earth contains, we should never consent to join the common enemy and bring Greece into subjection. There are many compelling reasons to prevent us taking such a course, even if we wished to do so. The first and greatest is the burning of the temples and images of our gods -- now mere heaps of rubble. Again, there is the Greek nation — the common blood, the common language; the temples and religious ritual; the whole way of life we understand and share together — indeed, if Athens were to betray all this, it would not be well done. We would have you know, therefore, if you did not know it already, that we will never make peace with the Persian King so long as a single Athenian remains alive." (Herodotus, *The Histories* Book 8, Penguin translation modified.)

Ladies and gentlemen, when I first read that story, some thirty years ago, it brought me close to tears; and still I find it moving. It first brought home to me one dimension of community. A community is not just a mob of people: it is "the whole way of life we understand and share together". It was another Athenian who told his countrymen that Greeks are not those of a particular race but those who share a common language and culture, a common way of life.

I have taken this as my business tonight: to set before you one person's view of what it is to be a community: and to ask you — not to tell you, but to ask this conference — what is the relationship of education to that image of a community? What then is our community, the Australian way of life we understand and share together?

The Australian is not now the tall bronzed bushman with the Anglo-Saxon name. We are not now the nation that Henry Lawson knew, nor the Anzac generation of C. J. Dennis. And yet who can doubt that they are a part of our community? The community is not just the present generation, just as it is not simply the Anglo-Saxon bloodline. Our political system embodies Greek and Roman and French as well as English traditions. Our people are brought up in a religious heritage which owes much to Jews and Italians and Germans and Scots and Irish, with teachings two thousand and more years old; and our winemakers practise skills perhaps even older than our religions. Can anyone doubt that Saint Augustine of Carthage and Martin Luther and Jean-Jacques Rousseau and Karl Marx are still living forces in our traditions and in our way of life? Then I must ask this conference to consider to what extent we pay attention in our education to those traditions? It is my impression, and again it is only one person's opinion, that while we study a great deal of history, most of it is political history rather than intellectual, the history of events rather than of ideas. And yet it is the ideas that make us a community, that give us the way of life we understand and share together. It seems a tragedy if we neglect the extraordinarily rich and diverse heritage of thought from so many great people over so long a time, which has helped to make us the people we are today.

Not only do we have this magnificent and varied past as an element in our community, we also have an unparalleled diversity in our present population. The Australian community extends not only over time but over nations. I have heard Mr. Grassby, the Commissioner for Community Relations, say that Australia is the youngest nation on earth, people like myself, Australian born of parents who were Australian born, are a minority in today's population. Most of our population was born abroad or has parents who were born abroad. No other country except perhaps Israel comes anywhere near having the majority of its population of immigrant stock. What does that mean for our community?

My colleague Alec Hope once wrote about Australia:

The river of her immense stupidity
floods her monotonous tribes from Cairns to Perth.

I sometimes think that, with all the pressure we put on our immigrants to assimilate and conform, we are glorying in those lines by Alec Hope. Yet would Europe be a better place if everyone in it spoke like the English and thought like the English and cooked food like English food? The English are a great nation, one of the glories of human history; but Europe is the richer for having the architecture and art of Italy, the literature and political thought of France, the commercial enterprise of the Netherlands, the romantic courage of the Slav nations, the science and scholarship of the Germans, all the varied gifts of Iberia and the Magyars and the Hellenes and the Scandinavians; and it is the more enjoyable for having the cuisine of all of them. But we interpret our common way of life very narrowly; we do not encourage people to speak a different language or follow different customs from those that they found when they arrived here. Within another generation, the languages and cultures will have died out in this country, unless we encourage them now. Yet, simply in the field of foreign language, we encourage it very little in our system of education. We act as if English is all that one needs to know, and it is up to the rest of the world to learn it.

Ladies and gentlemen, let me try your opinion on one single line of poetry. It is a line from the Greek story of the Trojan War. I ask you do you prefer it in English or in Greek? In English, the line is simply: "Terrible was the twang of the silver bow". Apollo is shooting arrows at the Greek army, and the poet says: "Terrible was the twang of the silver bow". But the Greek poet says: "Deiné dé klangé genet 'argureoio bioio".

Do you really think the English is better? Do you not understand the resentment that a Hellenic child or parent might feel at this country's almost total neglect of that rich language and ancient culture?

Our highest mountain is named after a Polish hero; but what do we teach in our schools about Kosciusko or his fiercely independent people? We go as tourists to watch the colourful and basically Italian ceremony of the blessing of the fishing fleets; but do we try to make the deep Italian sense of family or the poetry of Dante or the spectacular courage of Garibaldi a part of this nation's cultural traditions, as we have every right to do?

We have in this nation many Turkish children who speak little or no English; we also have a number of Turkish schoolteachers, whom we will not allow to teach those children. We send the teachers to work on the assembly lines of car factories, and we inflict English speaking teachers and Turkish speaking children on each other. When the absurdity of that situation becomes evident, we tend to take refuge in an easy, safe, thoroughly negative, absolutely timid and, I am afraid, typically Australian response: "the government should never have brought them here". Instead of delighting in the possibility of variety amongst our monotonous tribes, we seem terrified of it and try as hard as we can to obliterate it. But the Middle Eastern nations are a great force in this world; and when we can send as the Australian Ambassador to those nations an Australian called Abdul — or perhaps a woman called Fatima — we might then realise what human resources we have in this country, resources which we are so prodigally disregarding.

There seems to me in all these problems a very great role for our educators; and when I say our educators, I do not mean simply our schoolteachers. I mean quite obviously our parents, the elemental teachers of the community; I mean also the journalists and editors of the media; I mean those who make our laws and those who enforce our laws; I mean those who employ workers, and through that employment educate them, towards dignity or humiliation, towards division or unity; I mean also those who decorate our lives with works of art, and those who decorate them with advertisement. All of these, like it or not, are educators who affect profoundly "the whole way of life we understand and share together".

One of the most important things for all these people to do is to foster the sense of community. Indeed, we can only have the benefit of that diversity and variety which I have been emphasising, if we encourage a strong sense of unity. Unity does not have to mean uniformity; a unity based on such old fashioned things as patience, trust, charity, restraint will allow of the most wide ranging cultural diversity because we will be bound together by common values, which go much deeper than superficial uniformities. But I grow very anxious about the degree of division which has arisen within the Australian people over the last few years, and it seems to me that it originates amongst those very people who should do most to unite us, whose chief mission it

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should be to encourage the community of Australia: I mean our political leaders, from all sections of politics. Five years ago the Australian Prime Minister did not have to insist on a large police guard when he went to visit an educational institution. Our political leaders more than anyone else, for their own political gain have divided the cities from the countryside, doctors from patients, the trade unionists from the non-unionists, states from the Commonwealth, the unemployed from the employed. There is very little we can do about our political leaders if they choose to behave in that way; but I suggest that this makes it all the more important for all the rest of us educators to work as hard as we can to minimise these divisions, and to restore the former unity of the Australian community. Community means holding things in common.

It also means sharing, mutual care and concern. The American Statue of Liberty bears on its base the words: "Send me your tired, your poor, your huddled masses yearning to be free". Ladies and gentlemen, we have these people too. We have them each time a boat load of Vietnamese arrives in Darwin or in Broome; but we do not need to look to such refugees; we have them amongst our home-grown sons and daughters. Many of the tired, the poor, those yearning to be free are amongst our very earliest inhabitants; and many others are standard-issue Australians, with names like Johnson and Smith, McGregor, Morgan and Kelly. They can be found in our hospitals and Salvation Army Hostels and in our gaols and on our park benches; they are amongst our vagrants and prostitutes and alcoholics. What are they to education? In large measure we write them off, and leave them to the police, and the nurses, and the Salvation Army. And yet they too are our own community. What do we share with them? How do we as educators encourage any compassion or concern for them?

These ones are, in cruel jargon of sociology, only the deviants. If we are speaking about compassion, what about the normal, the majority of us? I am speaking about people like yourselves and myself: reasonably affluent, all employed, mostly over-fed, with what is called a high standard of living and might in many cases be better called a high level of self-indulgence. Do our educational processes foster any insight into our condition, and encourage any compassion? We might not think we need it; but it was of just such people that Henry David Thoreau said: "Most men lead lives of quiet desperation". Have you never felt that sense of intolerable pressures, of frustrations, of unfulfilled potential, crying out for release? Most men lead lives of quiet desperation; if that is true of men, in heaven's name, how much desperation must there be in the lives of most women? Do we, as teachers, try at all to inculcate that kind of insight, that kind of understanding and compassion for every soul in our community? Is not this a competitive and self-centred community? Do we try to make it a kindly community? Yet surely that is what a community — a commonness, a sharing — ought to be.

Ladies and gentlemen, I do not know the answers to the questions I have raised, nor the methods to implement any suggestions. I do not know what are the interactions between the community and its education, in either direction. I am nothing but an amateur educationist and no sociologist. There are many professionals at this conference, and they will speak more learnedly than ever I could about those interactions. I have done the only thing that was in my power; I have tried to begin this conference on the community and education by giving you one idea of what it is to be really a community: with a strong sense of our past, with encouragement and concern for the diversity that is one of our great advantages, with an insistence on political and social cohesion rather than division, and with compassion for all men and women within this community.

EDUCATION OF THE COMMUNITY

J. ANDERSON

The Challenge of Change

It was H. G. Wells, that great writer of science-fiction, who remarked that "human history becomes more and more a race between education and catastrophe". He could have been thinking of the constant nature of change in the world and the capacity of man to adapt to this change. There are two features that mark the present as different from any previous time. First, the rate of change today is more rapid than at any other time in the world's history; and second, changes are global, transcending regional and national boundaries. The challenges to education resulting from the rapid rate and the diffusion of change, if the catastrophe referred to by Wells is to be averted, are consequently greater than ever before.

To put the rate of change into some kind of perspective, the age of our planet is estimated to be about 4,000 million years, a time-scale difficult to conceive but one which may perhaps be likened to the time a bird, pecking continuously, would take to eat away a rock 100 miles square by 100 miles high. Of that 4,000 million years man has been around for about 4 million years. Yet 75 years ago man could not fly more than 150 feet. Seven decades later, only a bird's peck in the age of the earth, man flew half a million miles to the moon. At the same time his voice and picture were transmitted back to earth so that the whole world could witness those first faltering steps.

Examples such as these are fairly commonplace. Let us come down to earth. Ten thousand years ago only, man discovered that he could plant seed and cultivate crops, that he did not constantly need to move home to search for food. This most significant change was the beginning of living in communities. Very slowly communities increased in size but by the beginning of the nineteenth century, most urban communities were still of a size that citizens could walk from the central square — the piazza, the plaza, the praca, the platz or the plein — to the city limits in just a matter of minutes. By 1900, however, the world boasted 11 cities with more than a million people; according to the Geographical Digest (1973) 130 metropolises of this size had come into being by the seventies. Today one can travel from Kobe in the south of Japan 300 miles through Osaka, Kyoto, Nagoya, Yokohama to Tokyo always being in a city — and this is described as the Tokaido megalopolis. Likewise, the eastern seaboard of the United States, from Boston through New York to Washington constitutes another megalopolis (sometimes called the BosWash). In Australia there is the N.S.W. megalopolis in the making — Newcastle, Sydney and Wollongong. The world boasts thirteen megalopolises today.

By the year 2000, it is predicted there will be one thousand cities with more than a million inhabitants, many of these coalescing into megalopolises (Bell and Tyrwhitt, 1972). Planners now speak not only of the urbanised region and the urbanised continent but of the world city, the ecumenopolis. Thus it is that while transportation networks are causing the world to shrink to village proportions, villages have expanded and are merging into world-size entities.

How man is to adapt to changes brought about by rapid advances in technology, by the knowledge explosion and by the dramatic growth in cities, is part of the challenge facing education. As Roe (1971) commented, most adults are conscious of the shortcomings of their own education in preparing them for life today; with accelerating change our children might look back in the years ahead to the education they are now receiving and be conscious of even greater shortcomings. It is a sobering thought for teachers to reflect that the child born this year will be 23 in the year 2000; he may work until 2037; and live in retirement until 2057. It is even more sobering for teacher educators to reflect that the teacher who begins his teacher preparation now will probably still be teaching in 2025 and, of the pupils he teaches, many will be in the workforce a century from now. The direct influence of today's teachers and today's teacher educators extends well into the twenty-first century. This may have been what the American historian Henry Adams (1838-1918) meant when he said that "a teacher affects eternity".

How is one prepared to take one's place in society where conditions are changing at an unprecedented rate; where technology is changing the shape of people's lives in directions that cannot even be predicted; where the daily environment is fast becoming a forest of steel and concrete? Even though we do not know what kind of world and what kind of life people will be living in the twenty-first century, it is important to be actively analysing the data, discerning trends and trying to anticipate the future. Here the remarks of Professor Husén in his book, *The Learning Society* (1974) are so true:

> Educational problems in a rapidly changing society are too important to be left entirely to educators. We have long since realised that military matters are too important to be left to the military (p. xvi).

Hence this Conference with its three-fold theme — community education; education of the community; the community in education — is timely and significant. These themes are all future oriented which is essential if we are to come to terms with the future.

The Communities to which we Belong

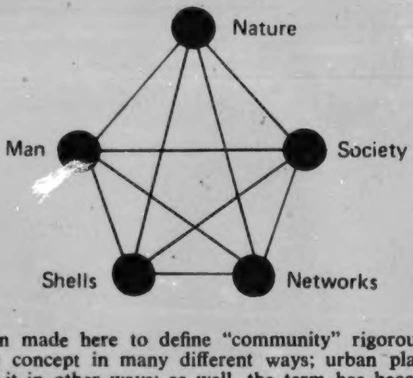
Ever since the events that so influenced our entire social development — the beginnings of agriculture and animal husbandry — our more permanent settlements have resulted in our membership in a number of different communities. One such group of communities is illustrated by the residential address each of us has. For example, the last line of an address on an envelope typically indicates the national community within which we reside; then comes the state preceded by the metropolitan community; the suburb indicates the local community and the street, the neighbourhood community within which is located the family. Sometimes we speak simply of the wider community as contrasted with the local or immediate community.[1]

Each of these separate, yet overlapping, communities shares similar functions (like protection, sustenance, shelter) and induction into these activities is the task of education. In fact the purpose of education, both formal and informal, is to enable each person to take his place and participate in the communities to which he belongs.

The Science of Ekistics

A useful framework for considering the education of the community, or of individuals and groups to take their place within their different communities, is provided by the science of ekistics (Doxiadis, 1968). Ekistics, a term coined by Doxiadis from two Greek words meaning "home" and "settling down", is the scientific study of human settlements. From the time that people began to settle in communities, it no longer became necessary for each individual to be engaged in every community activity in order to survive. Thus in food production, for example, since some families could grow more than they needed themselves, others were freed to develop special skills that were also useful to the community (like healing, trading, arts and crafts, even teaching). Individuals joined together in groups and out of the environment constructed places of shelter and developed systems of communication. Ekistics is the study of these elements that make up the human settlement.

Insofar as ekistics is concerned with planning for future growth, and strategies for action in maintaining suitable living environments in the accelerating urbanisation process, this science would seem to be a vital area of study for social scientists. Five basic elements were identified by Doxiadis (1968) in his treatise on human settlements:



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[1] No attempt has been made here to define "community" rigorously. Social scientists have defined the concept in many different ways; urban planners and architects frequently define it in other ways; as well, the term has become so much part of our everyday language that it is commonly encountered in a variety of different contexts (e.g. shopping community, ethnic and language communities, community of scholars, job community, etc.). An excellent discussion of this "troublesome concept" may be found in Saha (1976). As the term is used in this paper, it refers to inclusive groupings of people that share certain bonds because of where they reside and where "discussions about rules, resources, rights and duties are focused on the common good" (Eggleston, 1975).

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Nature provides the foundation for the settlement and the presence of man makes it a human settlement. Man does not live alone but in groups giving the third ekistic element, Society. The structures man builds for his various activities, called Shells, is the fourth element. Finally, there are the systems which enable the settlement to function, called Networks.

The spectrum of human settlements ranging from the individual at one end to the world city or ecumenopolis at the other is shown in the ekistic grid (Figure 1). It encompasses all the expanding social groupings previously noted — family, neighbourhood, local metropolitan, state and national — from micro-settlements through to meso- and macro-settlements. One of the values of the ekistic grid is that it allows one to focus on a single cell of the matrix and examine it in two dimensions: first in terms of encompassing communities of both smaller and larger units, and second, in terms of the basic elements of a community which range in technological complexity from the living environment, Nature, to man's manipulation of the environment, Shells and Networks.

			Ekistic Elements				
Ekistic Units		Average Population	Nature	Man	Society	Shells	Networks
1 Man	micro-shells	1					
2 Room		2					
3 Dwelling		4					
4 Dwelling Group	micro-settle-ments	40					
5 Small Neighbourhood		250					
6 Neighbourhood		1,500					
7 Small Town		7,000					
8 Town	meso-settle-ments	50,000					
9 Large City		300,000					
10 Metropolis		2,000,000					
11 Conurbation		14,000,000					
12 Megalopolis	macro-settle-ment	100,000,000					
13 Urban Region		700,000,000					
14 Urbanized Continent		5,000,000,000					
15 Ecumenopolis		30,000,000,000					

Figure 1: The Ekistic Grid (after Doxiadis, 1968)

Using this ekistic grid and the five ekistic elements as a framework, we turn now to a consideration of some of the problems that lie before mankind. The words of H. G. Wells are even more impelling today than when he wrote them. Education, at all levels of the community, is vital if man is to successfully adapt to the period of rapid change in the decades ahead.

Nature: The Living Environment

The first of the ekistic elements is nature, called sometimes [illegible]tural or living or biophysical environment. It is an important par[illegible] what is understood by the term "the National Estate" and summed up by one of

Australia's State leaders as "the things that you keep" (Report of the National Estate, 1974).

In the first three hundred or so centuries of man's settlement in this country the natural environment was kept or preserved pretty much as it had always been but the arrival of the first fleet marked the beginning of what has been described as "the rude awakening" (Martin, 1971). In the intervening period the impact of settlement has had a dramatic effect on the air we breath, the soil under our feet, the nation's rivers, its oceans, forests and plains. What has happened is not of course peculiar to Australia. Largely as a result of industrialisation and urbanisation, rivers and streams have become polluted, the air has been filled with poisonous gases; cities have been allowed to sprawl almost unchecked, swallowing up fertile grazing and agricultural land; natural resources have been depleted.

As two writers comment, "urban encroachments upon the natural environment and urban pollution of air and water are not new phenomena in themselves, but the advent of the megalopolis means that they are occurring on quite a new scale: a scale that threatens the natural balance of the ecosystem" (Bell and Tyrwhitt, 1972). In Australia, strangely, the potential dangers are greater than in most other parts of the world. With 88.5 per cent of the population classified as urban dwellers, according to the 1971 census, Australia ranks among the world's most highly urbanised countries. Four out of every ten Australians live in either Sydney or Melbourne; and four out of every five live near the ocean's edge making our coastline contain "one of the most beleaguered groups of ecosystems on this planet" (Dasmann, 1973).

Is there an environmental crisis and, if so, what can we, as members of our different communities, do about it? Professor Boyden, of the Centre for Resource and Environmental Studies at the Australian National University, is one who has warned against an eco-catastrophe unless there is "a great wave of new thinking, spreading rapidly through all sections of the community" (Boyden, 1974). The historian, Toynbee, is another who has stated that man's plundering of nature now threatens him with pollution and depletion. The much publicised report for the Club of Rome's project on the predicament of mankind, *The Limits to Growth,* also highlights the finite limits of earth's resources.

> If the present growth trends in world population, industrialisation, pollution, food production and resource depletion continue unchanged, the limits to growth on this planet will be reached sometime within the next one hundred years (Meadows, *et al.,* 1972, p. 23).

There are others who say that the above writers are alarmist and their claims exaggerated. In contrast to the pessimists who look at the world's resources and claim that half is gone, the optimists see the same resources and say half is left. Whether one is an optimist or a pessimist in matters of this kind, the undeniable fact is that our planet is running out of natural resources. The former Governor of South Australia, Sir Mark Oliphant, warned, at a recent conference at Flinders University, that South Australia's natural gas supply would be exhausted by the end of the century and that poor quality coal reserves would not last much longer.

The Report of the Committee of Enquiry into the National Estate in this country (1974) commenting on the numerous submissions made to it, expressed the belief that the issues that would make and break governments in the decade ahead would be those of conservation, pollution and the environment. This prediction has already been fulfilled in the 1976 national elections in Sweden where the Social Democrats were defeated after 44 years in power. Key issues in the elections were conservation and, principally, the problems of disposal of radio-active waste from nuclear power stations. The new Prime Minister, Mr. Fälldin, proposed making Sweden take a U-turn from the nuclear age. He told a rally that mankind had entered an arena where it did not belong and that no one had the right to commit those that follow to the resulting perils. In Australia, too, the uranium question is probably the most important and far-reaching issue ever to have been faced in our history. Whether uranium should be mined and exported or remain in the ground is one matter that should be debated within families, neighbourhoods, schools, towns and cities across the whole country since the decision has the potential to affect every living person.

The protection of the natural environment and, more particularly, the husbanding of natural resources, is a problem for the world community. Especially is it a problem when it is considered that the developed nations of the world are squandering scarce resources at the expense of the developing nations. At the international level this crisis was brought to the fore by the oil embargo by the Arab community in 1974. Different national communities, particularly the countries of Europe, have adopted diverse measures to conserve energy. In Sweden, for example, tax concessions are granted for the use of public transport but not for private vehicles. In the same country there is a current national campaign to reduce heating in homes by one degree with a resultant saving to the nation of one hundred million crowns. Many metropolitan and local communities are making savings by replacing individual heating installations for buildings by thermal generating plants or reducing street illumination. At the family level there is a trend in some places towards smaller, more economical cars.

The real effects of the energy crisis have yet to be felt. At the national and state levels we should, in the view of many, be allocating considerably more resources to alternative sources of energy, other than nuclear energy; at the metropolitan and local community levels there are many avenues for saving that should be explored. To meet this particular crisis requires immediately a massive educational programme at all community levels. What action can we suggest or initiate as members of The Australian College of Education for conserving our natural resources? for nature conservation? for protecting our water? for protecting the air? for reducing pollution? for treating waste products? The protection of the natural environment, after all, is the concern of every member of the community.

Man and Society

Man and society, two of the ekistic elements, constitute the content or human component within human settlements. On the one hand the focus here is on the needs of man as an individual; on the other the focus is on the needs and problems of people in groups, of society.

Man's most basic need, and a problem therefore of every community, is food. The world's shortage of supplies of food and water pose a far greater threat than the energy crisis. The most pressing problem in the world today, however, is the population explosion which naturally aggravates the problem of supplying food to nations and in turn is directly related to the plundering of earth's material resources.

There is in Chicago's Museum of Science and Industry a population clock and with each tick the increase of births over deaths in the world is 2.2 people, 190,000 people a day, almost one and a half million people weekly —about the population of South Australia. More alarming is the fact that the clock ticks faster with each passing second. In the early years of 1800 the world's population reached 1,000 million for the first time; by the mid-1920's, a century and a quarter later, the population had doubled; in 1960 it had trebled; in 1975 the population clock registered 4,000 million, doubling this time within half a century; and before the year 2000 it will nearly double again, reaching a predicted 7,000 million people.

In 1798, just before the world population reached the first 1,000 million mark, a dire warning about over-reaching food supplies by an accelerating population growth was issued by the economist, Malthus. His predictions have not been fulfilled, largely because of dramatic advances in agriculture and agronomy which ushered in the Green Revolution. The 1970 Nobel Peace prize was awarded to the geneticist Dr. Borlaug, for his work on new high-yielding strains of grain. However, Borlaug himself warned that these discoveries bought only ten or twenty years of time (Fyson, 1972). U Thant, when he was Secretary-General of the United Nations, wrote that "half of those now living and two-thirds of those still to be born in this century face the prospect of malnutrition, poverty and despair".

Since three-quarters of the surface of our planet is covered by water, fish and other plant life are food sources that will be more utilised in the years ahead. Perhaps it is no coincidence that one of the world's most urbanised countries, Japan, which takes in the Tokaido megalopolis, also has the world's largest fishing fleet. Just as in the past wars have been waged over shortage of farming lands, so as nations begin to compete for the immense riches under the ocean, it is probable that ownership of the ocean bed will be disputed with arms. We are witnessing already the extension of territorial waters and disputes over fishing rights.

What are the educational implications of all this for different levels of the community? One is that many communities are having to learn to eat different kinds of food. There is a constant search for new foods from such sources as coal, crude oil and even animal waste. As these new, synthetic protein foods reach the development stage, it will take national education programmes to change people's food habits.

We in Australia are not directly affected by either the population or the food crises and in this respect we are indeed the lucky country. We have the longest coastline of any country in the world and a more than adequate supply of food for our own needs. As members of the world community, however, we have an obligation to the less developed and, for the most part, hungry nations of the world. There are many ways of meeting this obligation. One way is in direct and indirect aid. Yet there is probably no greater ignorance in this country than about the amount of foreign aid we give or the recipients of this aid. In some other countries these topics are the subject of referenda and opinion polls. There is widespread ignorance in this country too about the developing countries generally. We do not show great interest in the countries of Africa, or, nearer home, in conditions in India or South-East Asia. At other levels of the community, to be consistent, there is not great concern about the lot of Aborigines or any ethnic minority. We expect migrants, for example, to speak English and make few concessions in schools, or elsewhere, for other languages, or cultural traditions. The state of foreign languages in this country is little short of a tragedy. On any scale of international-mindedness we would rate as insular and inward looking. Nor can it be said that we are overly generous to those on the poverty line in our metropolitan cities. In these and other areas there is untold scope for educational programmes to raise the level of awareness within the community.

At another level of the population and food crises we are directly affected in Australia. In this country, as in the industrialised countries generally, a smaller and smaller proportion of the population is engaged in food production. With the change from an agrarian to an industrially-based economy, and with rationalisation and automation in industry, growing numbers of the workforce have occupations in the service industries or the tertiary sector. There has been a resultant over-supply of persons for positions available. The working week has been shortened and still there are rising numbers of unemployed. The other side of the food crisis, in this country at least, is a job crisis.

There are ways of cushioning the job crisis and these all have implications for community education programmes. First and foremost it is important to recognise that, if there are insufficient jobs to go around, these must then be distributed equitably. It follows that some people should be paid for not taking jobs, or for working shorter hours, or for retiring early. It is popular in some quarters though to decry those out of work, to call them dole bludgers and worse. To think of someone out of work as doing a service to the community by not taking up a job, does in fact require quite an enormous shift of attitude. Yet this is a shift of attitude that will need to be effected in the years ahead.

Education itself is a cushioning effect when jobs are limited and the progressive raising of the school leaving age over the years in part reflects this. More importantly though, it is no longer appropriate to think of the education received in one hefty lump prior to working as sufficient to equip an individual for the rest of his life. In the world of tomorrow many jobs will be available that do not exist today and increasingly people will need to learn more than one job in a lifetime. The consequences then are that there must be increased opportunities for everyone to reboard the educational escalator at repeated intervals during life to allow the vitally necessary updating of skills and knowledge brought about by the rapid change of technologies; to allow those, who left school prematurely because of low motivation or lack of parental encouragement, to make good the loss at a later stage, to facilitate re-entry into the workforce after absence; and to help prepare for increasing leisure.

It is important for every member of the community to come to terms with this changing concept of education, be it called continuing education, recurrent education or lifelong education. The fundamental task, as far as the education of the community is concerned, is to "sell" the idea that education is a lifelong and continuing process. There are small signs that this is beginning to occur in Australia. The Flinders Medical School, for example, has an avenue of entry for mature students and other schools within the University admit small numbers of students who left school early and thus did not complete high school or matriculate, but nevertheless demonstrate a strong desire and ability to learn. Tertiary institutions, however, are nowhere near as open as they could be, notwithstanding the external programmes offered by the University of New England and Queensland University. Adult and further education have, until very recently, received low priority in this country and, despite hopeful signs to the contrary, this sector may continue to be the Cinderella of education. Australia would appear to be a long way behind Sweden where, for instance, of an adult population of five and a half million, some two million adults are receiving education through schools in most municipalities; through residential folk high schools; through study circles conducted by many associations, where almost any subject can be studied and for which financial grants may sometimes be received; through special manpower training and a variety of other training courses arranged by businesses, local authorities and government agencies. It is not a question only of having the programmes available or of finance, there must be an awareness by the community for the need for such programmes. If we are to avert the "psychological shock" described by Toffler (1970) as the future races to meet us, there is need for communities that are ready to adapt to changed conditions and this requires constant "further education and re-orientation" (Husén, 1974).

Shells

Shells is the fourth of five elements that Doxiadis (1968) distinguished in the science of human settlements which he named Ekistics. The position of this element in his model follows from the definition of human settlements as comprising two components:

(a) the content, that is human beings, and

(b) the container, the physical settlement itself.

The first of these components, the content, subdivides in turn into two elements: Man and Society; and the second component, the container, subdivides into a natural element, Nature (the environment for the settlement) and two man-made elements, Shells (which are the structures or covers Man builds) and Networks (such as roads and telephones which help the settlement to function).

Shells, the structures Man builds, include dwellings for shelter as well as places for work and entertainment, and thus are central to the way in which we live. Herein lies the paradox however. The building of communities and the emergence of urban settlements are part and parcel of the progress of civilisation for only with community settlements were certain people freed to devote themselves to the arts, to creating the beautiful things in life like art and music and architecture. Cities, too, are socially and intellectually stimulating. Yet this same civilising process, the building of communities, has brought with it many of the world's worst problems: social and economic inequalities, excessive overcrowding, extreme poverty and "its companions, crime, disease and drug addiction" (Jones and Van Zandt, 1974).

At the international and national levels a particularly significant problem is the exodus from the country to the cities. According to UNESCO estimates, the first five years of this decade saw 100 million people leave the countryside for urban districts, three-quarters of these for the third world cities. In Calcutta, for instance, more than five million of the city's population live in squalid, almost sub-human conditions. In Bombay six out of every 100 citizens are said to have nowhere to live which means that tens of thousands exist on and off the streets. The same holds for many cities in Africa, South-East Asia and South America, the number of people involved being in the hundreds of millions (Fradier, 1976). On a smaller scale the same is happening in Australia. Three-quarters of the population live in the capital cities and many of the remaining quarter are fast deserting the countryside for life in these cities. Furthermore, there appears no real move to arrest this development. Again, the implications for education would appear to be to increase general awareness of the problems, first, at the international level since as members of the one earth the fate of the homeless and the starving affects everyone; and, second, at the national and metropolitan levels since the consequences, which are so apparent in the developing nations of the world, are happening on our own doorsteps.

In 1976 the United Nations conducted a conference on human settlements. The symbol adopted for the conference sums up the scope and extent of the problem:

The circle shows that the problem is global in nature. Within the circle the Greek letter delta represents shelter. The human figure combines a sense of appealing for help with an attempt to burst out of the confinement of inadequate shelter. The rough, graffiti treatment indicates the urgency of the problem.

Just as education is too important to leave to educators and military matters too important to leave to the military, so is the form of our houses and cities too important to leave to architects, builders and, more especially, speculators.

Consider some of the implications for people living in today's and tomorrow's cities. For most it means longer periods getting to and from work and so, as the working week is shortened, more time is spent commuting. From the point of view of children one writer reports:

> In the brave new world of the towering housing estates, the lives of young children, far from being liberated, are circumscribed. The new environment being created by the planners may be suitable for fast traffic, for adults and for architects; it is antagonistic to the whole development of young children (Van der Eyken, 1967).

Here is how a typical three-year-old, living on the seventh floor of one of these housing estates, spends an average day:

> Got up — played indoors — went shopping for about half an hour — did the washing downstairs with mother — came and had her dinner. Then had a sleep for one and a half hours — watched TV — had tea — got ready for bed. (Quoted by Van der Eyken, 1967.)

The Duke of Edinburgh, in his recent visit to Australia, summed it up aptly: "The social consequences of building designs have not always been given the attention they deserve."[2]

The Duke was referring more particularly to the link between vandalism, mugging and alcoholism, and the built environment in which people live. An Adelaide girl, 11-year-old Marianne Storey, expressed a similar idea in a school essay:

> In a small town near a stream the town community had a problem. There was a gang who in the night ripped up trees and broke the glass in telephone boxes and bashed up other people. . . . The community had to find some way to stop them. They called a meeting to prevent the dreadful things that were happening. They agreed on the plan that they would take turns in night patrol. The third night after they started they caught them. . . . Their punishment was to help build a new place for young people to meet at night or during the day. They'll all have films and pinball machines and other things they will enjoy.

The message in Marianne's essay is clear. Buildings and cities are for people, for total communities, the young as well as the aged, the sick and the

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[2] Opening Address of the Biennial Conference of the Australian Institute of Building, Adelaide Festival Centre, March 1977.

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healthy, the able and the handicapped, the employed and the unemployed. Yet if we really believe this, it needs to be planned. The number of aged people in Australia is rising quite rapidly as the rising average age of the population indicates. If these people are not to be isolated from the rest of the community, there needs to be conscious efforts to integrate them. This applies equally to ethnic, social and other groups within the community. Another group that is becoming more numerous, largely because of the alarming road toll, is the physically handicapped. Building and transport design should be modified, much more than is presently the case, to cater for their needs. Lifts, ramps, special toilet facilities, parking privileges, standard in some communities overseas, are required in this country too. Similarly, special provisions are needed for other categories of handicap such as, for instance, fitting pedestrian crossing lights with audio as well as visual signals for the visually impaired. Another problem for which urgent planning is required if our inner city areas are not to become ghostly spectres when workers return to the suburbs at night and at weekends is to attract more people back to the city area. There have been many efforts in this direction and many failures. A solution attempted by the city of Toronto, which appears to be working, is to require provision in city buildings for residential as well as office accommodation. Singapore, in an effort to restrict chocking traffic from the central business district, imposes charges on private vehicles carrying fewer than three passengers.

These examples illustrate the need for the total community (not just the business community or planners or architects) to be involved in the design of the human settlement. Consideration ought to be given to all sections of the community; and, further, all sections of the community ought to be actively involved. There is needed a vision of man and of society and for this an educated community is required.

Networks

Networks, the last of the ekistic elements, represent man's most complex technological achievements. The functioning of the human settlement, the conduct of the myriad activities of a modern society, are facilitated by three major networks: the transportation network for carrying people and freight; the power network for carrying energy; and the communication network for carrying information (Inose, 1972). Indeed, it is difficult to conceive how life in any modern community could continue, as we know it, if there was a sustained breakdown of any of these three networks. Witness the scare when New York was blacked out for one night. Most civil and military defence is organised around the maintenance of networks in times of emergency.

Developments in communication networks, especially, have been so rapid and their influence on patterns of living so marked that it is easy to forget the relative recency of major innovations. 1976, for example, was the five-hundredth anniversary of the introduction of the printing press to England; it was the one-hundredth anniversary of Alexander Bell's invention of the telephone; it was the twenty-fifth anniversary of the first commercial computer; and it was the first time that a satellite was used by the United

Nations for a UNESCO Conference. By means of the press, radio, TV, computer and satellite it is possible today to transmit information to practically any point in the world, almost instantaneously. As one writer put it, "the world is densely covered with an enormous invisible net by which each citizen is constantly exposed to information" (Inose, 1972). This is the concept of the "wired city", the city with no limits.

No doubt further technological breakthroughs will herald even more dramatic changes in our way of life. The really significant aspect, however, from the point of view of the community, is not what new information media may be around the corner but the content of the media. Every message that is transmitted, be it by newspaper, radio or television, represents a conscious selection from a number of alternative messages. Put another way, every message transmitted involves the decision not to transmit some other message. Who makes such decisions? Who should make such decisions? What system of values do those making decisions hold? Should any controls be exercised? By whom? How?

These important questions bear upon the issues of self-regulation by broadcasters and the quality of radio and television programmes, especially for children. By comparison with certain other countries the use of television as an educational force in the Australian community is largely wasted and, indeed, abused. The viewing public suffers from overexposure — too many channels and too many hours programmed. The chase for ratings causes one quality production to compete with another. More often though there is a mediocre fare with programming based on the twin criteria of maximum appeal and least cost. Opportunities for establishing a national identity are lost by purchasing a high proportion of film from overseas sources. By virtually restricting all such purchases to English-speaking countries, further opportunities are lost, especially for foreign language learning and for learning about the values of other societies.

Access to the air waves is a very great privilege. It may be used quite unashamedly to promote consumerism or it may be used for cultural and educational purposes. The Indian Satellite Experiment (Sondhi, 1975) illustrates the way in which instructional television may be used to contribute to campaigns such as family planning, how it may help improve agricultural practices, and how it may be used to promote national integration. In another experiment, a satellite is being used in the remote areas of the United States (Appalachia, the Rocky Mountain States and Alaska) to bring education to small isolated communities (National Institute of Education, 1975).

Ultimately it is for each community to choose how the air waves are to be used. At one stage Australia was a pioneer in the field of education for the community through its "School of the Air" broadcasts. However, with the more pervasive medium of television, the initiative has been lost and the opportunities given away.

Looking Toward the Future

This paper began with some of the challenges facing education resulting from the nature of the times in which we live. In closing, some ideas are put forward of ways in which members of the College of Education might contribute to making the human settlement a happier and better place.

One: We must develop the broad view. Life takes place within an interlocking system and we should, therefore, recognise that matters of the environment, man's needs for human identity, the society in which we live, the shelters we build, and the networks that enable the whole to function, are all inextricably related. We must cease looking at the world through the telescopes of our separate disciplines and instead, adopt a wide-angled-lens view of the world.

Two: In adopting a global perspective, it is necessary to look forward, beyond the immediate present. Every matter of concern to the human settlement may be located on a space-time graph (see Figure 2). The bottom left-hand cell in Figure 2 shows the family concerns of the moment. What is required are people who can look beyond these, beyond the local and metropolitan communities to the national and international communities and can, at the same time, look beyond this year and this triennium to the decades ahead, to our lifetime and our children's lifetime. We need people of vision.

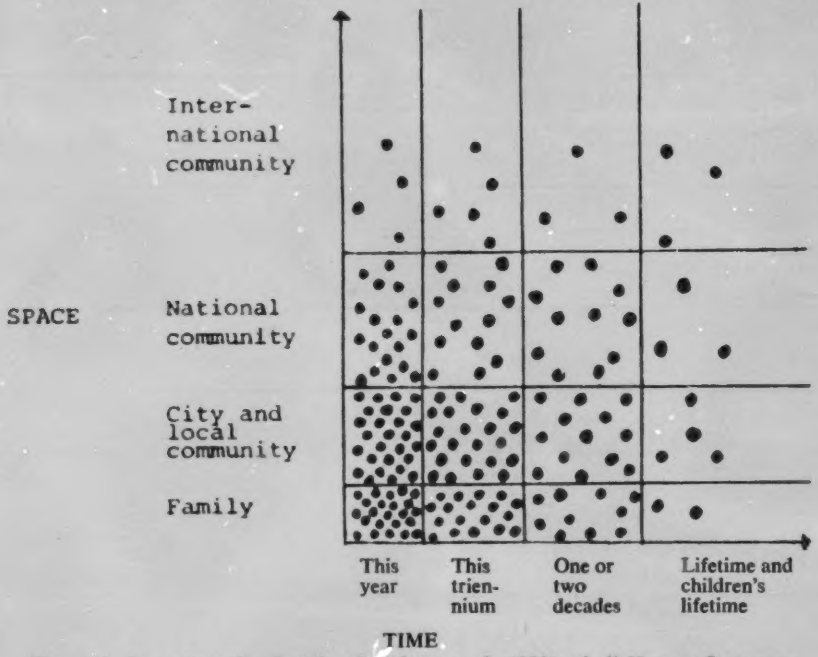

Figure 2: Space-time Graph (after Meadows *et al.*, 1972) of all Human Concerns.

Three: As educators we must play a larger part in community planning. Whether our basic disciplines are in the arts or the social or natural sciences, we must strive for a rapprochement. If a state of equilibrium is to be maintained between the ekistic elements, more particularly between the environment and technology, we must avoid at all costs, what Snow (1964) referred to as "the two cultures", the gulf between the scientific technocrats on the one hand and the rest of society on the other.

Four: If we are to attain this rapprochement between the arts and the sciences, it is necessary to work towards the kind of society whose members hold certain eternal moral values and, at the same time, understand the problems and limitations of technology. Members of such a society would thus be better equipped to choose between alternative technical solutions to different problems.

Five: Educators have a special role to play in moulding public attitudes. To restore the balance between the ekistic elements and to stabilise certain growth trends may require communities to change life styles, to modify habits and to accept sacrifices.

To attain these different goals we must cease to compartmentalise education, conceiving of it, instead, as a whole, from "the womb to the tomb". That is, we must stop making arbitrary divisions between primary and secondary education; we must stop thinking mainly of school-type institutions (schools, colleges, universities) and consider both what comes before and what follows; we must strive for what Husén called "learning society".

In the same way that Einstein revolutionised scientific thought with new conceptions of space and time, we need to revolutionise educational thought. Perhaps Einstein's famous equation, $E = mc^2$, may be extended to provide a formulation for education of the community. Let E in this equation represent, not energy, but education of the community; m, not mass, but motivation to solve problems of the environment and of society; and c^2, not velocity of light squared, but the needs and requirements of our encompassing communities. Education of the community, then, is a function of what man wants from life and the needs of the communities in which he lives.

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COMMUNITY EDUCATION*

S. ENCEL

When I was asked to give the lead paper at this conference, I inquired about the meaning attached to my subject, which did not seem to bear any obvious relationship to the other headings of "education for the community" or "the community in education". I received the reassuring reply that I was free to define the topic as I wished. The most congenial response to that invitation is to escape from the tiresome necessity altogether. I shall speak of that which I know, and leave you to judge whether my approach to the subject has provided you with any illumination. What I know, then, relates to two matters which are distinct but connected: the extension of education beyond a limited period of schooling, and the increasing demand for public participation, in some form, in the operations of educational policy-making.

The Extension of Education

The extension of education means, in this context, the emergence of a prolonged period of formal schooling as a mass process, and the growth of educational organisation as one of the major industrial institutions of a modern economy. This growth, although it reaches back into the 18th century with the introduction of compulsory elementary schooling in Prussia, is a distinctively modern phenomenon. One American student has calculated that seven per cent of the lifetime of the average person in contemporary urban-industrial society is spent at school, compared with zero in non-industrial, pre-literate societies, and a negligible average figure even in European society up to the end of the 18th century.[1] Expansion is now slowing down, but it will probably level off at a point where two-thirds of the population spends ten years at school, one-third spends twelve years, and one-quarter undergoes some form of organised post-secondary or further education.

The diffusion of education into the community is, in some ways, most spectacular and most significant at the post-school level. The increase in the school population, from 750,000 pupils in 1946, to 2.25 millions in 1962 and 3 millions in 1977, is largely a demographic phenomenon. Changes in the age structure, leading to a large expansion in the numbers of school-age children, account for about two-thirds of the growth of the school population since the end of the second world war. Fluctuations in the birthrate are likely to affect this situation, as they have already done in North America. At post-school level, we are dealing with a different set of factors, and the enormous growth in numbers in these areas cannot be attributed predominantly to demography. In 1939, there were 13,000 students in six universities throughout Australia, compared with 154,000 in nineteen universities in 1976. The 80-odd colleges of advanced education, which did not exist in 1965, had 135,000 students in 1976, and even if we discount that figure by half to arrive at real growth, the numbers are spectacular. In the area of technical and further education, enrolments totalled 738,000 in 1976, compared with 250,000 in 1961. The 1976 figure for technical and further education, incidentally, represents 18 per cent of the age group from 16-20. In New South Wales alone, the average annual increase in TAFE enrolments during the decade 1960-1970 was 4.4 per cent. Significantly, full-time enrolments in this area rose steadily during the same period, from 4.4 per cent of the total in 1960 to 6.1 per cent in 1970.

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Another qualitative index of expansion is at the post-graduate level. In 1946, there was only a trivial number of students enrolled for higher degrees at Australian universities. The PhD degree was not introduced until 1948. By 1964, the proportion of graduate students had risen to 6.4 per cent, and by 1976, it was up to 11.4 per cent.

Finally, one of the most important of all qualitative indices of expansion is the change in sex ratios at all levels. For the first half of this century, the ratio of males to females proceeding to the matriculation level remained static at about 2:1. At the university level, the proportion of female students remained constant at about one-quarter of the undergraduate population until the 1960s. In 1962, only nine per cent of females aged 17 were still at school, compared with 15 per cent of males. This difference has now almost completely disappeared. In 1977, the participation rates for 17-year-olds were 31.7 per cent for males, 31.3 per cent for females — a shift which can only be described as revolutionary in its implications. The wave took some time to make itself felt in the universities. Even in 1964, female undergraduates only made up 25 per cent of students. By 1976, this had jumped to 40 per cent.

As educational institutions have grown, their influence has moved well beyond the original task of instructing young people. At the post-secondary level, especially, the age composition of students is much more mixed than in the past. In 1976, 32.7 per cent of university students were aged 25 and over, 17.6 per cent were 30 and over, and 5.4 per cent were 40 and above. Individual cases are striking. A few years ago, a retired medical practitioner of my acquaintance obtained a PhD at the age of 75, having written his thesis, very appropriately, on gerontology. In this current year, the University of N.S.W. awarded a PhD in politics to a retired businessman, aged 70, who now proposes to read for a degree in the natural sciences. The oldest undergraduate at the same university is another retired doctor, aged 76, who hopes to obtain admission to the law faculty. One of the honours classes I am currently teaching contains a majority of mature age students, a number of whom have gained admission to university because of liberalised entry requirements. Similar trends are in evidence at other universities.

Changes in age composition are related to changes in sex ratios. One of the reasons why women are in a minority in the universities is that they drop out much more rapidly than men. If we take the 1976 enrolment figures again, we can see that the ratio of men to women remains fairly constant at each age level between 17 and 20, i.e. approximately 60:40. Between 21 and 30 it changes sharply in favour of men, reaching a high point of 70:30 between the ages of 25 to 30. The reasons are fairly obvious. After the age of 30, the proportion of women rises slowly, so that between the ages of 40 and 50 the masculinity ratio had dropped to 55:45. Among students aged 50 and over in 1976, the majority were women. These changes are closely parallel to changes in the work force, where the highest rate of re-entry since 1960 has been in the 30-40 age groups, and where the proportion of married women has risen much faster than that of single women.

In case you find statistics boring, I must warn you that there are more to come, but we may take a short break at this point to emphasise that these figures are important because they underline the way in which the picture of education as a finite process related essentially to early youth and adolescence is no longer consistent with the facts, or with public demand. This point can be made clearer by analogy with the demographic changes which accompany industrialisation and urbanisation. The concept of the "demographic transition" describes the way in which increasing life expectancy changes the demographic profile of a community from a pyramid, with numbers concentrated in the younger age groups, to a more or less quadrangular shape. Education is experiencing an analogous demographic transition, with far-reaching consequences.

The structure of the work force in modern societies gives education and specialised training a peculiar and central role in relation to employment. Growth in demand for education and training is related to at least four major characteristics of the contemporary occupational/industrial scene:

(a) the shift of activity from primary and secondary industry into tertiary occupations;

(b) the growth of activities concerned mainly or largely with the provision and exchange of information;

(c) the large-scale entry of women into the work force;

(d) the growth of occupations with major wants for information, including professionals, managers, clerical/administrative workers, teachers and certain kinds of commercial activities (property transactions, transport, finance).

Tertiary industry, broadly classified, grew from 50 per cent of the Australian work force in 1911 to 63 per cent in 1971. Professional, technical and related occupations grew from 5 per cent of the work force in 1947 to 12.4 per cent in 1976. In 1954, women accounted for 23 per cent of the work force, which was about the same proportion as in 1911, but this has now risen to 37 per cent. In 1933, married women constituted 12.5 per cent of female employment; this rose to 30.5 per cent in 1954, and to 50 per cent at the present time.

Since the pioneering work of the American economist Fritz Machlup in 1962, a number of attempts have been made to estimate the importance of knowledge and information in a modern economy. Machlup developed the idea of the "knowledge industry" as a crucial sector of the economic system, cutting across more conventional forms of industrial classification. On this basis, he estimated that 29 per cent of GNP in the United States could be attributed to the production and distribution of knowledge.[2] Since then, it has become more common to talk about the "information industry". Writers like Clark Kerr, Herman Kahn and Daniel Bell have used the concept of the information industry to support their predictions of transition from an economy based on manufacturing to a "post-industrial society" which, in Bell's words, will be based on the "centrality of theoretical knowledge".[3] Bell and Kahn have estimated that by the year 2000, 40-50 per cent of the U.S. work force will be employed in the information industry.

It is not necessary to accept the thesis of the "post-industrial society" to show that the information industry has grown. Using similar criteria, Professor D. M. Lamberton has calculated that, on an industry basis, the numbers employed under this heading rose from 8.7 per cent of the Australian work force in 1911 to 11.3 per cent in 1947 and to 19.1 per cent in 1971. On an occupational basis, the figures were 8.5 per cent in 1911, 17 in 1947, and 27.5 in 1971. The differences between the two sets of percentages are due to the fact that the occupational groups whose work is largely concerned with information are spread across a range of industries. Lamberton goes on to estimate that if the rate of growth between 1947 and 1971 continues, the occupational percentage of 27.5 in 1971 will rise to 40 per cent in the year 2000. There is evidence that these rates of growth are flattening out, as indeed Kahn predicted a few years ago. However, the demand for information may be expected to continue growing, and with it the demand for education and training to meet the needs of people in these occupational groups for the acquisition of new knowledge, the capacity to communicate it, and the opportunity to update it in a rapidly changing social situation.

The economic and social processes I have described are largely responsible for the diffusion of educational and training experiences into wider and wider sections of the population. This diffusion has stimulated demands for new structures which can more readily take account of the complex interactions between education and society. International consideration of these issues has been stimulated by the work of OECD, whose recent review of Australian education reflects the general approach of the organisation to the relationship between education and society. The general tenor of OECD's recent reports is to stress that an educational system which concentrates learning in childhood and youth, and is oriented towards social and career selection, cannot cope with the individual's need for continued development over a much longer period. The demand for learning opportunities for adults is increasing, and the structure of educational organisation should change in response to the demand. The OECD reports call for a reduction in the isolation of schools and universities from the life of the community, and for a closer relationship between formal and informal systems of education. At present, this relationship is obstructed by the predominant use of the educational system as a means of occupational selection. The social prestige and material rewards of professional occupations are responsible for a rigid pattern of private demand for education which does not reflect the diversity of human abilities or the much more diffuse nature of broader social demands.

The growth of unemployment in the affluent capitalist-industrial societies since 1970 has emphasised the relationship between education and employment. Educated people have much better chances of obtaining employment than the unskilled and poorly educated. On the other hand, many university graduates are finding it difficult to obtain employment related to their education. One consequence of this is a demand for greater vocational content in the secondary schools. The Centre for Educational Research and Innovation, established by OECD, argues that this is the wrong solution because it corresponds neither to human aspirations nor to economic requirements. Instead, what is needed is a better balance between theoretical learning and practical experience in all branches of the educational system. This means a reduction in the arbitrary separation between general and vocational education, and the development of educational policies which combine both formal youth education and informal adult education and training. The most powerful obstacle to such changes, they assert, lies in the use of secondary education as a means of obtaining access to the universities, which turns the secondary schools into anterooms of the universities, and frustrates repeated efforts to diversify post-secondary education. Among other defects, this situation generates massive advantages for the children of privileged social groups, since they are better prepared, more motivated, and adequately supported for university entry. Such inequities are almost impossible to eradicate, but they could be greatly reduced by spreading educational opportunities over a wider span of life.[4]

Various policies have been formulated in an attempt to realise the objectives set out in the OECD report, including recurrent or "permanent" education, on-the-job instruction, post-experience training, and adult entry schemes for tertiary education. The most radical attempt to shift post-school education out of an institutional framework is, of course, the Open University in Britain, which has succeeded to an extent that surpasses most educational innovations. Unfortunately, it has not so far proved to be exportable. In Australia, the likeliest direction of change is the community college, offering a range of post-school courses. The move towards community colleges may be dated from the fifth report of the Universities Commission in 1972, which emphasised that post-secondary education should not be fragmented between institutions of different types which were rigidly separated, but should be seen rather as a continuum offering a range of educational opportunities. In its sixth report (1975), the Commission reiterated the importance of treating post-secondary education as a continuum, especially because the extension of educational opportunities to smaller centres of population could only take place by providing one institution which would be educationally and financially viable. The Commission was obviously thinking in terms of community colleges which would offer a range of programs and qualifications under one roof. This kind of thinking has taken root in at least three states, W.A., N.S.W., and S.A. In W.A., the Partridge report on post-secondary education followed the line of the Universities Commission in emphasising the need for diversity of institutions and programs. Technical and further education, recurrent education, the education of the mature student, and open extramural studies would, according to the report, become increasingly important. The emergence of higher education on a mass scale made it necessary to co-ordinate resources across the whole spectrum of post-secondary education. The committee also followed the Universities Commission in recommending the establishment of community colleges in rural areas.[5]

As you will be aware, the first Australian community college was established in Darwin several years ago; two are currently planned for country centres in N.S.W.; and several are planned for S.A. Essentially, the community college represents an extension of the old-established framework of technical education into a wider range of functions. It is very doubtful whether modest changes of this sort can do much to achieve objectives like those contained in the OECD report on *Education and Working Life*. To achieve such objectives, one would truly have to change the nexus between education and the life cycle, so that it was effective only up to a certain minimum age. Beyond that, a range of flexible relationships would develop. Such a reform could only come about as a result of massive organisational transformations and would require novel forms of finance. Some economists, like Clark Kerr, have proposed the introduction of tax credits for this purpose, somewhat in the form of deferred pay, invested during working life to finance temporary exits from the work force to undertake education and training. A scheme of this kind represents the organised application, on a large scale, of practices already followed by individuals who have financed their own exits from the work force through personal exertion.

Public Participation in Decision-Making

The second broad theme to which I would like to address myself is the demand for greater public participation in educational policy-making and administration. This demand is closely related to the emphasis on closer links between formal education and other phases of social life. Both tendencies are a direct result of the enormous expansion of the educational sector. It is not clear whether that elusive animal, "public opinion", is actively concerned about participation, but it is quite clear that a number of active and effective interest groups are concerned, and it is they who are setting the pace to which politicians are increasingly adjusting their own gait. At least five such groups may be identified:

(1) Teachers. To describe teachers as being concerned with participation is slightly whimsical, since teachers make education what it is. The relevant point is that the organisation framework within which teachers work is still largely hierarchical and authoritarian. Hierarchy and authority are not calculated to breed originality, innovation and initiative. In addition, they are effective only when there is a stable world to support them. In an unstable world, where innovation and initiative in meeting changing circumstances are at a premium, the legitimacy and effectiveness of hierarchical structures are correspondingly at a discount.

The expansion in numbers has been accompanied by a corresponding change in the age profile. One half of school teachers are now under thirty years old, and their educational standards have risen steadily in the last ten years, following a steep drop in the twenty years after 1945. This relatively young, relatively well-educated work force is now demanding, with increasing

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strength, a direct say in its own conditions of employment and a general loosening up of the organisational framework. The most advanced state in this regard is N.S.W., where the present state government is committed to the introduction of some form of commission on which teachers will be strongly represented.

(2) Parents. Direct parental involvement in education has never been part of the Australian scene except at the edges, where the parent organisations have raised funds for individual schools. Parents first began to raise their voices at a different level during the 1950s, when the after-effects of the depression and the war were making themselves felt in shortages of money, materials and teachers at a time when the baby boom of the 1940s was producing a sharp increase in the school-age population. This period saw a rapid growth in the activities of parent organisations like the Federation of Parents' and Citizens' Associations of N.S.W., the Victorian Council of State School Organisations (V.I.C.S.S.O.), and the Australian Council of State School Organisations (A.C.S.S.O.). At this stage, the demand was largely for increased spending, and especially for the large-scale entry of the Commonwealth government into education. Significantly, when the Commonwealth did enter the field on a large scale with the establishment of the Schools Commission in 1973, representation was accorded to parents by appointing the president of ACSSO as a member of the Commission.

Parental demands for involvement and participation are of two kinds, one relating to individual children and the other to general policy. Both have been stimulated by educational expansion and by the obvious link between education and employment. The first kind of demand is difficult to fulfil, because it is liable to generate conflicts between parents and teachers. Although parents clearly have a right to question the treatment of individual children by teachers and administrators, there are practical limits to the exercise of such rights, and they are unlikely to be overcome by emphatic demands for such things as a "charter of parents' rights", called for by the annual conference of the Victorian Federation of State School Parents' Clubs in 1976, adopted by the subsequent conference of ACSSO, and forwarded for ratification to all affiliated state groups. The charter demands direct access of parents to teachers, recognition of parental views on child development, access to information on assessment and selection, right of appeal against placement of pupils, and the right to withdraw children from courses to which their parents have conscientious objections.

These demands reflect a number of changes in the character of parents as a group. For a start, the general educational level of parents has risen for the reasons already noted, and many parents can legitimately claim to be better informed about educational issues than many teachers. Indeed, many of the active workers in parents' organisations are themselves teachers, who are particularly well placed to be critical of the system. Another factor of growing importance is that a high proportion of parents are immigrants from non-English-speaking countries, who are becoming aware that their children labour under a variety of cultural and social disadvantages as compared with the children of English-speaking parents. The present Prime Minister has publicly committed himself several times to the proposition that there is nothing inherently superior about Anglo-Saxon culture, and his views are striking an increasingly responsive chord among bodies like the Ethnic Communities Council.

The second kind of demand — for parental representation at the policy-making level — is already being met in the cases of the Schools Commission, the A.C.T. Education Authority, and the proposed commission to run the state school system in N.S.W. The provision of funds by the Schools Commission and the Australian Department of Education for in-service training programs and conferences is giving parents the opportunity to participate in activities which, until recently, existed only for the benefit of teachers and other professional educationists. The Schools Commission has also encouraged parental participation in programs dealing with educational innovations. (The reduction of Schools Commission funds for these purposes, laid down in the "guidelines" issued by the Commonwealth government in June 1977, can only be described as a reactionary step — reactionary in that it reverses established policy, in that it reduces the autonomy of the Commission, and in that it opposes the general trend of events.)

Between the demand for influence over decisions on general policy and a veto over the treatment of individual children lies the co-operative principle embodied in the school board or council, where collaboration between parents and teachers is supposed to take place. School councils are too recent an innovation in Australia to make judgment possible. In the A.C.T., where they were introduced together with the setting up of the Education Authority, they have evidently produced considerable friction between teachers, parents, and administrators.[6] In N.S.W., the proposal for school boards published by the then Minister for Education in 1974 received a frosty reception from the N.S.W. Teachers' Federation, and is unlikely to be heard of again until the new education commission is established. In Victoria, where legislation to set them up was passed in 1975, they do not so far appear to have stimulated a great surge of parental involvement.[7] On the other hand, less formal methods have been successful in a number of schools, following the action of the Victorian Education Department in permitting the establishment of community schools in which parents are encouraged to "go back to school" with their children.

(3) Private school organisations. The initiative taken by Sir Robert Menzies in 1963, when he inaugurated Commonwealth assistance for schools, has brought private schools into the policy-making arena. This was formalised by the appointment of representatives of the private sector to the Schools Commission. So far, the role of the private schools has been largely restricted to a concern with finance, but this may alter in response to far-reaching changes in the structure of school curricula and examination requirements.

(4) The women's movement. The upsurge of neo-feminism in the last ten years is in part due to the great increase of female participation both in the work force and in education, so it is not remarkable that the situation of women in these two areas is among the major concerns of the women's movement. Groups like the Women's Electoral Lobby, Women in Education, and the Women's Education Coalition have been active in lobbying for

improved pre-school education, for equality of employment conditions for male and female teachers, and for the removal of sexism from school curricula and school texts. In response to these pressures, the Schools Commission set up a working party whose report on *Girls, School and Society,* published in 1975, is a document of major importance. The N.S.W. state government also set up a committee of inquiry on sex discrimination in schools whose report should be completed in the near future. Similar committees have been appointed in other states, and the Victorian committee has already reported.

(5) Professional pressure groups. The expansion of higher education has inevitably brought with it a large increase in the volume of professional activity concerned to influence educational policy in one way or another. The existence of the Australian College of Education is itself a prime example, alongside which we can set bodies like the Federation of University Staff Associations, the Australian Union of Students, the National Conference of Subject Teacher Associations, the Association for Children with Learning Disabilities, the Modern Language Teachers Association, the School Library Association, and the World Education Fellowship, among others. Not the least of the achievements of such bodies has been to make educational policy a staple topic for discussion in the daily and weekly press, which is of course an important way of bringing the matter closer to the community at large.

Participation by groups of this kind in educational policy and administration is, of course, nothing new. The principle of representation of interests is an integral and widespread feature of modern government. The political scientist K. C. Wheare actually used the term "government by committee" some years ago to illuminate the nature of the British constitution.[8] In his study, Wheare described what he calls seven "characters" found on official committees — the chairman, the secretary, the official, the expert, the layman, the party man, and the interested party. These characters play different roles. The expert is there to advise, the interested party to negotiate, the party man and the layman to legislate, to administer, to scrutinise and control. In the educational sphere, Wheare's account makes it clear that committees are mainly there to advise, legislate, and scrutinise; administration and control have not been among their major functions. He notes also that, in education, the use of co-opted persons on boards and committees is unusually widespread. They are intended to represent interested parties, who nominate their own partisans. The presence of such interested parties, plus the legal basis which many educational committees enjoy, tends to give these committees a feeling of "self-contained independence". Anyone who has worked inside the system will be keenly aware of this characteristic.

The extent of committee activity in education may be judged by a brief examination of the situation in N.S.W. In that state, there are three separate government agencies concerned with educational policy and administration. The Education Department has existed since the 19th century, the Department of Technical and Further Education since 1947, and the Ministry of Education since 1975. This spread of functions, increasing steadily over a long period, has given ample opportunities to accumulate a veritable rabbit-warren of committees. (This metaphor, incidentally, is credited to Winston

Churchill, who in a moment of exasperation during the second world war, declared that Britain was overrun by committees, as the Australians were by the rabbits.)

Starting with the Ministry of Education, there are currently 24 committees, 11 of them with community (or non-government) representation. They include such bodies as the Teacher Housing Authority, the Nurses' Education Board, the board of governors of the N.S.W. Conservatorium of Music, and the Working Party on the Establishment of an Education Commission. Community representation is oddly absent from bodies such as the Ethnic Affairs Committee, the Committee to Examine the Establishment of Child Care Centres in Educational Institutions, the Committee to Examine the Concept of Community Colleges in N.S.W., and the Committee to Plan Extended Community Access to State-Owned Facilities. Clearly, the Ministry of Education does not have a consistent policy on the question of community participation, in apparent contrast with the Education Department, every one of whose 104 committees and boards contains non-governmental representatives. With such a number, the range is naturally vast and sometimes perplexing, and one suspects a great deal of overlapping and duplication. There are, for instance, three separate committees to advise the Australian Broadcasting Commission, as well as a Schools Broadcasting Advisory Committee. There is also a committee on Technical and Further Education, which would hardly seem to be necessary in view of the existence of a separate department operating in that area. The Department of Technical and Further Education naturally has its own council on this subject, plus three district councils, 62 college committees, and 117 course advisory committees — all with community representation.

If the situation in N.S.W. is typical, the problem would not seem to be one of lack of representation. Indeed, a number of teachers and departmental officials have expressed their perplexity at the demand for participation, since it already appears to be well provided for. This is to misunderstand the nature of the case. The committee system, as Wheare points out, gives particular scope to the expert and to the interested party. Officials, he suggested, fortified by the advice of committees upon which experts and interested parties have sat, are able to present proposals which the lay public (including members of parliament) are unable to criticise effectively. Too often, he notes, lay representatives on committees may become merely lay figures.[9] The new insistence on participation arises partly from the enormous post-war expansion of education, which has created many more points of contact between the educational system and various sections of the community. The lay public is much better educated than it was, and less disposed to accept without question the view of the professionals. The demand is also activated by the increase in government functions and the consequent bureaucratisation of politics, which has meant a steady decline in the effectiveness and prestige of parliament. Hence the stress on "participatory democracy" as an alternative and especially as an antidote to bureaucratisation. In education, it takes the form of demands for influence on curriculum, organisation, and the employment of teachers, and also for a decentralisation of authority so that bureaucratic authority at the centre is counterbalanced by community influence. By community — and this is the closest I will come to a definition — I mean groups other than teachers and educational administrators. It is doubtful whether this broader meaning of "community" applies to the examples of committees in N.S.W. which I have quoted.

As I noted previously, the year 1963 provides a convenient benchmark for dating the emergence of the present situation. I have already referred to some of the specific areas in which responses to these new demands have developed. In addition, we have the rapid growth of interest in the use of schools and colleges as community centres for educational and other purposes. There are now many examples of such programs. In N.S.W., particular stress has been placed on the planning of schools as community centres in the new town development at Campbelltown, south-west of Sydney.[10] Lessons learnt in this project, which involves co-operation between the Education Department, the Health Commission, the State Planning and Environment Commission [illegible] the municipal council, will be applied to other development projects in the Albury/Wodonga, Bathurst/Orange, and Gosford/Wyong areas. Another project for sharing resources is under way at the Morialta High School in Rostrevor, South Australia, with support from the Schools Commission. In Victoria, the widest variety of experiments is taking place in both city and country schools, with ongoing projects in many communities including Diamond Valley, Malvern, Nunawading, Carlton, Box Hill, Templestowe, Tullamarine, Richmond, Kyneton, St. Arnaud, Rainbow, and Boronia.

Conclusion

The role of formal education in our society has obviously grown enormously in the past 30 years, and this enlargement represents a permanent change. The wonder is that so much expansion has taken place with so little structural change in the system. Quantitative expansion has now halted and is unlikely to resume, except on a very modest scale, and it is likely that much more attention will be paid to qualitative aspects of the system. Changes of this kind, involving major shifts in the relation between education and society, are likely to involve a new set of relationships between professional educators and the community at large, in which I hope it will be possible to realise some of the ideals of participatory democracy.

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EDUCATION FOR COMMUNITIES: A QUESTION OF METHOD

N. HAINES

The Hunger for "Community"

Fraternity, or brotherhood, (embracing sisterhood?) was one of the trinity of ideals in 1789. That with the others it heralded the Terror and ushered in an age in which Equality has slowly gained precedence over Liberty may have had as much to do with what has recently been called the "dilution" of this ideal (Mount 1976) as the difficulty of translating fraternity into legal and political process. (Hobsbawm, 1975). As in politics and popular acclaim so in two centruries of social theory "community" has signified a dream, hope or aspiration as much as, if not more than an observable social phenomenon (Nisbet 1966, ch. 3), an aspiration which seems to me to include fraternity while, perhaps, going beyond it. While some sociologists have assigned the name "community" to "a pioneer settlement, a village, a city, a tribe or a nation" (McIver 1962, p. 2) or, according to the same author, "any area of common life, village or town . . ." (McIver 1972, p. 22) they have at the same time, in their accounts of *gemeinschaften*, drawn attention to the human needs supposedly satisfied in these traditional forms, needs which are also signified by such ideals as fraternity. Here lies a trap for the educator who takes seriously the possibility of community education: is he to be bound by typologies and think of "community" as area or is he to concern himself with values and hungers for fraternity?

Many who claim to express most vigorously the hunger for fraternity also attack, in the same cause, such traditional "communities" as the family, to say nothing of the city. (Mount op. cit.) Most would agree that the modern territorial "community" fails to meet our need. Yet there are human associations — families, churches, villages among them — in our society and elsewhere which though they do not fit the traditional definition of "community", meet, or half meet the need, the hunger for community which has increased in proportion to the decline of old associations. Therefore I am proposing in this paper on community education to define "community" more in accordance with values such as fraternity, less with respect to territories or areas; or, in the old terminology, to regard these values as the "essence" of community, questions about territory or "the whole common life" as contingent.

Put it another way: instead of arguing at length about the meaning of community I propose as model a "community of meaning" as the subject for community education. For community in the sense that reflects a world wide need today has to do with shared meanings. That great American philosopher of society and education, John Dewey, said that society exists "in transmission". (Dewey 1916, p. 4.) He saw "more than a verbal tie between the words 'common', 'community' and 'communication' ".

"Men live in a community in virtue of the things which they have in common; and communication is the way in which they come to possess things in common."

What do they have in common? Aims, beliefs, aspirations, knowledge, "a common understanding — like-mindedness". I suggest we take these as the essence of community. Dewey uses "society" and "community" interchangeable whereas I am suggesting that, for our educational thinking, we use "community" only for those associations where we enjoy shared meanings. Dewey's comprehensive usage attributes to society, in its most generalised sense, the qualities we are more likely to discover today (if at all) in specific, probably small, associations including but not confined to some of those traditional forms which Tönnies taught us to call gemeinschaften (Tönnies 1887).

On this value basis of definition, appropriate to social philosophy, even the so-called "contractual" kind of relation (Maine 1861, 1871) may yield community. From this beginning I hope to reduce some contemporary confusion in talk about community education. (Stewart 1976.)

> "Fellowship is heaven, and the lack of fellowship is hell; fellowship is life, and the lack of fellowship is death; the deeds that ye do upon earth it is for fellowship's sake that ye do them ,and the life that is in it shall live on for ever . . ." (Morris 1936.)

William Morris's brand of socialism is not common but fellowship, or fraternity is one of three values which have seemed to me to be signified by contemporary yearnings for community. (Haines 1976, ch. 12.) The others are communication and self-management. All three exist in shared meanings of interpretations of a common reality; shared beliefs about reality but also about what ought to be. The creation and sustenance of such common life is what I have in mind when talking of community education.

Education and the Continuity of Communities

In the chapter already quoted Dewey said that education "in its broadest sense" was the means for "the social continuity of life"; that education was to society what nutrition and reproduction were to physiological conditions. We saw that he used "society" and "community" interchangeably and that may be one reason why he did not attend with equal emphasis to the discontinuing effect education has had upon communities and must have in particular upon our "communities of meaning".

To anticipate misunderstanding let me now make two statements about my own beliefs. First: education is of course a "social phenomenon" and has socialising effects; in a general sense of "society" it is both socially determined and itself a cause of social change. Second: if I refer to the discontinuing or disruptive effects education can have upon communities of meaning I am denying neither their inevitability nor their desirability. I am simply drawing attention to them and their implications for method in community education.

If Dewey uses "society" and "community" interchangeable he also uses "society" in a generalised, abstract sense as well as in a particularised, concrete sense — that is, in the sense I mean here when talking about "communities" or "communities of meaning". We have to appraise his statement about the continuity of society differently in either case. Since education is a social activity all education is a continuation of society at least in the general sense. So, for that matter, are crime and warfare. For sure, we can find extreme cases of intellectual development isolating an individual virtually from all social life (Seaman 1959) but this is atypical and, you might want to argue, goes beyond the responsibility of any specific educational institution or association. When we turn, however, from abstract concepts of society to specific communities we find that the case for education as typically supportive, continuing or "nutritional" is subject to many exceptions. I do not know if it is true that the downfall of the British Empire in India or the Middle East was partly the work of the London School of Economics; I do know that a small "community" such as Singapore and a large society such as India complain of the "brain drain" through specific educational institutions; that tribal life in Africa and perhaps in Australia sometimes traces its decline to schooling; that leaders are said to be lost to the working class through graduation; that trades unions have for long enough regarded with suspicion forms of adult education not under their control; and that the faiths of christians (and adherents of other religions) in their churches has sometimes been eroded by the "touch of cold philosophy"; but as a philosopher I dare not trespass on empirical territory, confining my argument instead to some implications for the discontinuance or disintegration of communities of academic method, on the one hand, beliefs as the subject of education on the other.

(a) *Continuity and "academic method"*

Scholars who wish to classify educational activities by process use "method" to mean ways of organising people for learning. (Verner 1964, Knowles 1970.) That is how I am using "method" throughout this paper. "Academic" refers to "academies" and will mean here such educational institutions as schools, colleges and universities.

Academies can use more than one method for organising learners: the authorities I have just cited distinguish between group and individual methods. They also talk about a "community" method and we will come to that later. Since these categories fail to make clear some distinctions important to us — for example, that between learning in groups and groups learning — I do not use them here. At the same time the so-called group method is so widespread and typical of ways in which academies organise for learning that I shall call it here *the* academic method.

The characteristics of the academic method to be considered here are the following: the method withdraws or separates learners from their other communities; it creates, or tends to create, an alternative community of meaning; it gives primacy to individual or personal development; it tends to support an authority which threatens that of other communities. These characteristics are closely interrelated; they are also in some cases only to be understood by reference to the question of beliefs discussed below. However, I shall take each by itself in order to clarify some implications for community education.

(i) The separating characteristic of the academic method is of course an aspect of all relations between different communities of meaning. Member-

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ship of any one community reduces the time, energy and other resource available for membership in others. I suggest, however, that the academic method is both more deliberate and exclusive in this respect and capable of longer term and more disruptive effects than some. With degrees of pressure ranging from legal compulsion to its own internal imperatives the method withdraws learners from their communities and invites their attachment to the academy with a degree of compulsion not unlike that of religious orders in earlier times. Under the influence of the method, for example, a child's experience of community after a certain age is increasingly, it not exclusively, that of school though whether we add "to the detriment of family" is another matter. Certainly we can hardly deny that the relation between the two communities is as likely to be discontinuous of the family as it is supportive.

(ii) As an alternative community of meaning no doubt schools, colleges and universities have mixed careers. Certainly few undergraduates talk as if they have found themselves joining a "community of scholars" though this is an ideal worth retaining. In speaking of an alternative community I have something less elevated in mind: the way, for instance, the "class", "form", "year" or peer group in some other terminology provides fellowship, shared meaning, communication, and often a degree of autarky or group self-sufficiency in opposition to other authority in the academy. It does not follow that the academy intends this to happen but of course there are educators who welcome the notion of the school or college as such a community and see it as part of the educational process.

(iii) Similarly, and by the same tokens, development is either not seen by all educators as their only or primary concern or else is understood as entailing socialisation. I would, myself, prefer to think of a development which was truly personal as of necessity socialising in the general sense. We have said that all education in this sense is social in its effects. That is, in emphasising personal development as characteristic of the academic method I am not suggesting that the academy is necessarily or dominantly individualising: on the contrary it might be said in many cases to make too little of individuality. Nonetheless, the method is directed toward the personal development of the learner as contrasted with that of his/her communities of origin. Morever, in most significant evaluations of education by academic method it is individual performance and acquisition that provides the test and necessarily so since the groups formed by academic method are not intended to have much of a life once the course is ended unless so-called sororities and fraternities are given that degree of importance.

(iv) The Authority of the academy as a threat to communities of origin can only be understood when we have spoken about beliefs. The bureaucracies and hierarchies of educational systems impose some deference even today but these apart, with or without charismatic teachers, groups within the academy and the academic way of thinking, speaking and inquiring all combine to invite dependence upon themselves and their associated expertise while subtracting from the authority of other communities.

Each of these major characteristics of academic method separately has distinctive implications for the discontinuity of other communities. In combination and through their connections with each other there are grounds for a strong presuppostion of discontinuity in the relations between academies and other communities. This is strengthened on the whole by the preoccupation of all education with belief.

(b) *Continuity and belief*

All education, whether by academic method or not, is primarily concerned with beliefs about reality. (Haines op. cit. p. 144.) This is true of education though not of all learning. Learning may occur, skills or techniques be acquired with no direct, deliberate or conscious reference to the beliefs of the learner about the realities to which the skills are applied or even to any theory supporting such skills. We can be drilled into useful accomplishments. Education provides for personal development and personal self-management (at least) because of this preoccupation with belief, creating conditions within which the person alone becomes responsible for changes in belief. Given that beliefs constitute a kind of "map by which we steer" (Armstrong 1973) education creates options, new, possible directions for action and choice, and therefore the option of continuing or discontinuing our membership in certain communities.

Education should uncover the grounds for correct belief and make these available by whatever method is used for the organisation of learners. Criteria for correct belief are in the general sense "social" but that certainly does not mean "social" in any concrete, specific sense giving a specific community of meaning the monopoly of truth or correct belief. We regard with suspicion the claim of church, State, party or ideology to usurp such a role. If we accept any community of meaning as guide in matters of belief today this is in virtue of its real or supposed adherence to accepted procedures in science, philosophy or art: the foundations of a "scientific estate" (Price 1967) or a "house of intellect" (Barzun 1959) lie in such procedures and the network of communities they validate not in the communities as such.

Therefore of necessity academies cannot underwrite other communities of meaning or license their continuity except and insofar as in their relations with them there is a sharing of beliefs about the criteria for sound belief. (I am not saying that all existing specific academies are faithful to the implications.) There can be no "democracy of opinion" in education though for different reasons we may find it imperative to defend a freedom for the expression of opinion. For these reasons, so far from ensuring the continuity of communities there is a significant sense in which education exposes all to the threat of its continuing criticism and examinaton of belefs.

This looks like "end of story". We seem to be left on the one hand with discovery of a profound human longing for fraternity or community, and on the other with an Academy unable, or unwilling to support those communities which might answer the need. Is this the situation? Is the race (or at least our part of it) shut out of William Morris's paradise with the angel of academy denying entrance with the sword of criticism? Or should we look — perhaps in such slogans as "lifelong education" — for a totalitarian academy offering all the fellowship we can expect, or none? There are other signs of course: such that in their hunger for closeness the race may reject all forms of critical education and make learning itself an instrument of their collective, if irrational, demands.

Before considering the possibility of an alternative, community method. I want to consider some aspects of the so-called "democratisation of" education which seems to intend a form of community education.

"Democratisation" as Community Education

The belief that education ought to support political societies called "democratic" is nearly, but not quite, as old as compulsory elementary education. (Haines 1968.) Advocates of the alliance have become more vocal and insistent, however, since President Wilson's war "to make the world safe for democracy". The shift from democracy to "democratisation" is more recent and has meant not so much support for existing liberal-democratic governments, or even hostility to them, but the propagation of a "new" ideal with emphasis upon participation. (Cockburn 1969, Jacobs 1966.) Democracy as "no taxation without representation" has been replaced or even opposed in the name of "maximal feasible participation" (sometimes with scant attention to the "feasible"). In these two different uses alone we should see the problem in using such words for educational intentions.

A caution: we have to distinguish between the advisability of using such signs as "democracy", "democratisation" and any appraisal of the intentions behind their usage. I think the use of such signs is inadvisable for educators, or educationists. As to the intentions of those who use them no single judgment is appropriate to them all.

(a) *The "muddle about democracy"*

Few will dispute that there is such a "muddle" (McPherson 1966) in that field of political theory where "democracy" belongs. The word has changed its meaning more than once, McPherson says, and in "more than one direction". Two sources of such confusion should be noted. The first is the use of such words as democracy, both in political and educational theory, sometimes as descriptive of existing procedures or forms of government, sometimes as indicative of desirable forms or procedures, or as prescriptive; and with no clear indication of where the one, and where the other is to be understood. Thus we cannot be sure if and when writers are telling us to make education supportive of some existing system (probably in the government of our own society) and when they are trying to persuade us to use educational activities in pursuit of their (and perhaps our) ideals. The second source of confusion lies in the fact that "democracy" is used today to describe not one, but several quite different forms of government together with their associated social institutions and practices. So while we are told that a number of contemporary democratic theorists see themselves as descriptive (Pateman 1970) McPerson himself in the source quoted (McPherson op. cit.) asks us to accept that the West, the Soviet bloc, and some societies in Africa and Asia have all some title to the name for their very different forms of government. On the other hand John Dewey in the book cited above called "Democracy and Education" is said by a contemporary supporter and scholar of high standing to have used "democracy" to signify a state of affairs which "has never really existed" but to "express an entire complex of values which must guide our action if we are to approach closer to the democratic *ideal*" (Hook 1963, my italics). These seem to me reasons enough for responsible educationists to be wary of expressing their intentions for community education in terms of democracy and democratisation.

The need for care is greatly intensified when, as so often in these days, we wish to sustain dialogue about education with people from different political societies or (as in Australia) with fellow citizens whose political background and traditions differ from each other. If the value of community lies in communication, if we seek to establish, at least among educators, some common understanding of shared beliefs and values, we surely do well to avoid wherever possible the use and popularisation of confused and confusing signs.

"Education" itself is notoriously ambiguous. If you put together two signs, each of which is loose in texture, neither of which can be said to say "exactly what it means" without paraphrase, then the best you can do is confuse; the worst — deceive. When talking to some about democracy and education I sometimes have the feeling that my colleagues can slip back and forth between the two without having to explain either except in terms of the other: make a statement about education and they will say, "Ah! but that is undemocratic". Say something they do not like about democracy and the will say, "Yes, but that would not be education". I have near me as I write a book called "Democracy in Learning". The author is an educator. I cannot see where he has distinguished between learning and education. I cannot find that he uses the word "democracy" until he is a fair way through the book and then it seems that he expects me to regard the meaning of this cantankerous word as self-evident. This is rather like one of those Yuletide guessing games where you are offered two parcels and required to make your choice by the wrappings and the labels: how do I know whether, in accepting "democracy", I am not letting myself in for something I would regard as uneducational? How do I know if "learning" (which I am obliged to approve) is not just another name for what the author hopes to slip under my guard as (his) democracy?

> ". . . our generation talks and thinks too much of democracy and too little of the values it serves." (Hayek 1944.)

If I am to create a community of meaning about either education or democracy I had better take off the wrappings and see what can be said about the values intended, the purposes to be pursued.

(b) *"Participation": the values of democracy?*

One political theorist already quoted (Pateman op. cit.) thinks that a theory of democracy should be written using the notion of participation to replace contemporary, descriptive emphases on elites. Participation does seem to mean what many intend by democratisation though it is far from what others mean by democracy. I think we can use it to explore some implications for community education.

A study of participation in the social services of North America and the European Economic Community (De Cocq 1969) has been of help to me in formulating the questions to be asked about the values of participation though I have adapted and in some ways expanded the author's analysis. Two broad distinctions emerge: that between types of "service" or participation, and that between various possible beneficiaries.

(i) De Cocq distinguishes three types of service which we may translate into kinds of participation in the service of education. *Direct* service is voluntary participation in the actual service the organisation is supposed to render as, for instance, if parents or others volunteer to help in the teaching of children or even (I would think) in child care in a primary school. *Indirect* service (in my terms) would mean taking part in the management of a school or other academy as when voluntary, unpaid members of a public sit on School Boards of a University Council. Then there is *self-service* as when, for example, a group is formed for mutual teaching or learning as in a learning exchange or some adult education activity. I find that most talk about democratisation of education (though not all) is a demand for participation corresponding to De Cocq's "indirect service" or participation in management as I called it. For an exception, apart from much in Dewey, we turn to work which commends participation in the actual learning process. (Williams 1975.) Participation of the "direct" sort, as this author, De Cocq, points out, belongs to a tradition older than talk about democracy. In fact it represents what many of an older generation were taught to regard as service per se. In the sweat and noise of modern demonstrations for participation one hears less of a "right to serve". If participation nonetheless still means service then service itself would appear to have changed its meaning.

(ii) Let us now, by going beyond De Cocq's analysis somewhat, consider various beneficiaries of such participation and, by implication at least, get some notion of the possible benefits; for this will bring us to the point about participation as community education. This gives us De Cocq's distinctions between what I would call in-service, participant and extra-community value but with some sub-divisions under each.

1. By in-service value let us mean the value of participation to the organisation (such as the academy) within which participation takes place. This may be of two kinds. First, it may be central to the primary goals of the academy: that is, it may promote the dissemination of knowledges. Second, it may serve secondary interests such as the status of the staff, or their salary claims which may or may not indirectly assist the primary goals. We may think that direct service (p. 11) is more likely to serve the primary goals but this does not now concern us.

2. Participant value, or benefit to the person who participates, may also presumably accrue in two forms. First, the participant may receive better delivery of the service, that is, of knowledge (in our case) and this we might think would be more likely from self-service; and we would want to support this by some general learning theory about learner participation. Second, some think that by participating the person benefits in other, general ways:

there might be enjoyment of the academy as community, (with risks to other community membership); in direct service some see amoral and spiritual gain and in indirect service the sort of benefit that Aristotle would attribute to any political activity.

3. Extra-community benefits, however, are those that must concern us most. It is in that a community education must primarily consist if it follows at all from participation in the activities of the academy. Here agan one expects two possibilities. First, some external community may receive better delivery of the service in which some of its members participate. In adult education, for example, much is made of community participation in the determination of need. Indeed much talk of "community education" seems less concerned with "community" in any value-based sense and more with the viability of programmes as a marketable commodity. I find it misleading to refer to educational activities as "community" simply because the organisers do the sensible thing and explore customer demand. Second, the benefits that flow, or are supposed to flow, from participation may be of a more generalised sort such that those who participate may be expected to contribute to other, external communities skills, insights and attitudes supportive of extra-community life. We would expect claims for participation as community education to stand upon this assumption and, further, to hold that such a flow-on came more from indirect than from direct service, more from participation in the management of an academy than from help given to learners in the learning process. Some of the assumptions associated with such a belief call for further examination.

First, there is the assumption that those who take part in the management of a school (or other academy or service) will (1) be more active in other communities as a result, (2) become more competent in their community membership in consequence. I believe that empirical studies have done something to test both these assumptions but I am not able here to report on these. On my own observations the same few persons tend to participate in "managerial" roles in a range of communities. They also tend to get overloaded and to retire from the lot. Questions of competence are difficult of analysis. It is debateable whether a minority of "more competent" managers is desirable for the continuing life of communities of meaning.

Second, there is the prescriptive assumption that people ought to participate in indirect service (at least) because they "live in a democratic community". This begs our question about the meaning of democracy, is probably not how many wish to understand their obligations, and says nothing about community education.

Third, there is the assumption of a "right" to participate not, as we said, in direct, but in indirect service, or management. The language of rights has been so abused at the hands of democratisers and, in particular, so separated from complementary talk about obligations that one in inclined to shudder each time a new "right" is invented. Even if such a right is established in positive law, however, and its corresponding obligations formulated, I do not see what follows for our purposes: what it has to say, I mean, about community education.

The values as well as the rights and duties of participation can be established on other, political, social and moral, philisophical grounds and I think I have shown where I stand on such questions sufficiently for our present purposes. (Haines 1966, 1971, 1976.) My interest now is in educational support for communities of meaning other than academies and here I think we must say not only that participation in the management of academies has not shown itself as, *prima facie*, an effective mode of community education but also that there may be grounds for attributing to such "democratisation" negative value — in particular some threat to education itself as a major service to society irrespective of its "nutritional" value to particular communities.

(c) *Education and participation*

We said that the benefits of participation might accrue to the academy itself in respect either of its primary or its secondary goals or interests. I believe that much talk by academics of such participation as well as some talk about community education has this expectation to the forefront. (Minzey 1972, Schapiro 1967.) What counter-values are likely? What could happen to the academies and thereby to education as they conceive it as a result of participation which might conceivably disadvantage external communities?

An academy like any community of meaning both is and has resources. In common with all other communities on this level of social reality its own continuing life will depend upon a high degree of self-sufficiency with respect to its essential resources — the resources, that is, by which it is defined or in which its community exists. These primary, knowledge resources have their own internal structures and outgoing imperatives

It does not follow that all nominal members of an academy (academics, teachers, students) do in fact share these central resources or share them adequately. It does follow that the life of the academy as a community of meaning is threatened if such resources are "managed" or mismanaged by "participants" (voluntary or other) by those whose beliefs and attitudes to violence to the inner structure and imperatives of such resources. Even if we are thinking of secondary resources (the "plant" for example) we have still to think of these in relation to the primary or essential and the mismanagement of the first will follow if there is no adequate understanding of the second.

What follows makes no discrimination against the "outside" or "voluntary" participant as such any more than against the so-called professional who uses the essential resources of the academy for particular gain, ideological or pecuniary, with no respect for knowledge and the grounds of correct belief. I am arguing that academies must in some respects be communities of meaning before they undertake the education of other communities and that for these purposes undiscriminating advocacies of "democratisation" may prove of profound and long-standing disservice to all communities.

Much argument for maximal participation is ostensibly aimed at the evils of that bureaucratisation which Max Weber, however, did not fail to describe alongside of some advantages. Weber included some of our "democratic" liberties among the virtues of bureaucracy; he also underestimated its resistance to such "charismatic" assaults upon liberty as that of Adolf Hitler. (Nisbet op. cit. p. 256.) Another student of National Socialism (Newmann 1942) talked of the "rational and reliable norms" necessary to any society which a bureaucracy can sustain; but without intending a defence of bureaucracy I am suggesting that there are degrees of innappropriate participation in the terms formulated above which may erode liberties essential to the academy and in the long run reinforce the powers of centralised bureaucracy as the only remaining, even if undesirable, repository of "rational and reliable norms".

Community Method

"Community education has suffered more from misconceptions and misunderstanding than for any other reason." (Minzey 1972.)

I am asking about the possibility of education of communities and for the continuity of their common life. Let me explain the intention of this last section of my paper. I do not think I am inventing anything called a "community method". I may not even be saying anything that has not been said before in other ways. As the work already cited will show (Haines 1976, Part 1) some of this theorising has arisen from an attempt to accommodate within existing frameworks enterprises which, while they are carried on in the name of education, depart from traditional procedures and in some cases are regarded by their practitioners as community education. The need is not merely to see if they fit but if they do not to provide them with a critical framework. Then there is other work with which most educationists are familiar where the academic method is either ignored or drastically modified. The Antigonish movement which emerged in the twenties has recently received fresh attention. (Lotz 1973.) The development of "functional literacy" (UNESCO 1970) and the associated writing of Paulo Freire further illustrate the trends I mean. The writings of Ivan Illich on the other hand raise a general question about education and organisation we must answer first before turning to an alternative method.

(a) *The necessity of organisation*

The case for the "constitutional disestablishment of the monopoly of the school" (Illich 1970) would have my wholehearted support if it meant replacing uniform State systems with a wider variety of schools managed independently of the State. Illich's "learning webs" (op. cit. ch. 6) also appeal. His attack as I understand it is on institutionalisation. We should not confuse this with organisation.

Some distinction between learning in general and education is necessary and education is organised learning. It is true that for centuries "education" has been used interchangeable with "learning" very often in disparagement of academies and sometimes with justification. Professional educationists today cannot afford this indulgence if they are to preserve the values of education against fresh onslaughts of barbarism. If we can separate in our thinking the undoubted disadvantages of institutionalisation, of educational systems with their bureaucratic and hierarchical authority structures from the advantages, and indeed the necessities, of organised learning we are less likely to be intimidated by the less rational critics of academy. The acquisition of new knowledge requires organisation; knowledge itself is organised experience; the dissemination of knowledge, whether theoretical, technical, practical or experiential, depends upon organisation and that practical knowledge which concerns us in community education can only be acquired *through* the organisation of communities.

Learning that takes place without organisation (and there is much of it) will for the most part be by individuals, for individuals. It will not, therefore, be community learning. Consider this statement from a history of education:

> "The constant search for control, liberation and expansion characterised man from his first appearance, and part of his success in devising effective mechanisms rested on his ability to secure the perpetuation and refinement of such skills through the procedures of education. For education includes the cultural process by which techniques for the control of the environment are transmitted. Since man's environment from the end of the Neolithic period was as much social and intellectual as physical the process of education took on a social and intellectual cast." (Bowen 1972, Vol. 1.)

We are committed to the social character of education and to changing forms of organisation adapted to changing need.

(b) *The "learning group"*

For community education the group organised for learning will be the community or some self-selected part of it. Here we reverse the social direction of the academic method. Where that method separates potential learners from their communities this, community method will organise only within the community. (Recently, in Africa, I saw whole families attending a course at a community education centre on family management.) We cannot say, however, that whenever such a group is organised that *community* education will take place. We are considering only the first characteristic of a community method. Besides, the fact that membership of the group is drawn from the same community does not in itself ensure that the group will learn *as a group*. Further, some learning groups, though their membership is self-selected and drawn from a larger, established association, may fall short of what we intend by a "community of meaning". For instance: I doubt if the shared beliefs and values of a work group from a factory or other industry will ordinarily be broad or deep enough to constitute what we mean by a community. One or two of these difficulties must be considered at more length.

Knowles (op. cit.) talks of community method as taking the "total community" as "class room" or "laboratory". I have stated some objections to this. (Haines 1976, p. 39.) A further objection may be to this understanding of "community" with its territorial dimensions emphasised at the expense of the value base we prefer. Even so, while it may be preferable where possible to organise a "total" community for learning this is not always possible. Just as we resort to representation for political so we might for educational purposes, provided we are prepared to observe the conditions set out below. Such representative learning, however, will have to be organised through arrangements much more satisfactory than most which are supposed to give us represenation in politics. Above all a community will not sustain and develop its common life through learning groups it has not itself selected and cannot regard as central or integral to its community experience. Failure here would make the so-called community method as divisive as the academic.

Some might think it matters where such a learning group meets. Since we talk about reversing the social direction of the academic method are we also, of necessity, proposing that community education can only take place "out there", *in situ,* in the social space and the territorial space ordinarily occupied by the community? There are probably good pragmatic reasons why this should be the case, given that our community has such a locality; but more important to my mind than territory is the ambience, so to speak, of the community's learning need.

Most important, however, is the need for the learning group to be able to learn as a group. (Emery 1976, pp. 31f.) Our evaluations of courses on the academic method estimate success in terms of the number of individuals in any class, or group, who have acquired knowledge which they can subsequently enjoy or apply in pursuits related to their own, individual purposes. Projects using the community method measure success by the degree to which the group as a group has learnt how to act effectively for the support of the common life. Academic method organises people for learning in groups. Community method would organise them to learn as groups for continuing group life.

(c) *Practical education*

"Society cannot make its influence felt unless it is in action, and it is not in action unless the individuals who compose it are assemble together and act in common. It is by common action that it takes consciousness of itself and realises its position; it is before all else an active co-operation." (Durkheim 1915.)

If here we could be allowed to read "community" for "society" we would have support for the second important characteristic of community method: that its end or purpose should be practical. I have talked about practical knowledge and practical education in the earlier reference cited. (Haines 1976, p. 126, p. 137.) Practical education has to do with action for social change in pursuit of shared values. Community education is practical. The method is a process designed for change required if the common purposes are to persist effectively in a changing world.

This does not mean that theory is excluded from community education. Questions about the application of sociological, psychological or economic theory to action are too complex for this paper. Yet it must be made clear that theoretical resources appropriate to community needs must be made available even if "appropriate" here includes some critical confrontation between theory and the received beliefs, attitudes and practices of the community. Education can never abandon its primary concern with belief.

Even so, no project in community education will have succeeded simply because some members of the group have read Talcott Parsons or understood Laing. The test will always be whether the community now knows the alternative courses of action or has understood how appropriate ideas are to be implemented.

Still more important is the need to say that the over-riding practical nature of community education not only does not exclude experiential learning but may even be said of necessity to include it. Experiential learning is direct, immediate understanding both of oneself and of others, or of oneself in relation to others, reaching toward a kind of self-and-other knowledge necessary, I suspect, to the apprehension if not the application of all knowledge with the possible exception of the technical. Much that has to be done in and by a group before it can act includes such changes in personal belief and attitude as can only be accomplished through experiential learning. We may say, rightly, that community education is practical; we cannot say this satisfactorily unless we mean that this includes the dimensions and perspectives of experiential knowledge.

Why had community education to be practical? The answer lies in that general conception of community need we introduced at the start. We cannot, as outside educators, tell a community that it has needs without risking acceleration of that very process of educational attrition inseparable from academic method. When a community is itself aware of threat to its common life either from external change or internal disruption there is a situation open to educational resources delivered by community method. Such a situation is critical in two senses: first, a change from some source is challenging the life of the community or making a "judgment" upon it; second, by responding to such changes the community has either to reach right judgments or disintegrate. Community method responds to this critical situation by providing practical education.

Not all community needs are of this critical kind. There are other, developmental needs of interest to the educator. (Haines 1975 (2).) These arise when a community recognises some potential for the development of its resources and looks for enabling agencies to assist. Before turning such a need over to the emergent profession of "community development" or assuming that this embraces educational values and procedures some examination is necessary of the role of community development especially in relation to its different paymasters. (eg. Akers 1965, Lovett 1965 etc.)

Practical education must not be represented as indifferent to belief. I think we can imagine a community development service which gave, at best, second place to personal beliefs more particularly when it was staffed by servants sensitive to government plans (on the one hand) their own ideological urgencies on the other. This can never be the case in community education. Crisis in the life of a community of meaning is essentially, in part at least, a crisis in the common stock of shared beliefs. These are of primary concern to the educator; they are the subject of education. For this reason we must allow for the possibility that education, even by community method, will discover as one of the practical outcomes to an inquiry the possibility of the community's own dissolution or at least radical reformation. Take the family for example. I believe that families today have in many cases to be created and developed out of an initial interest in copulation; created and developed, that is, by the discovery and pursuit of shared beliefs and values. Notions about the "sanctity" of marriage or the binding force of legal ties may provide intervals in which this work can be done; they may also obscure the need for effort and deliberation. Practical education might support and promote this task of family creation but it cannot offer guarantees. If no shared beliefs are discovered; if values are dissonant; if the partners do not discover in and between themselves the lasting, growing benefits of human love, there is no community of meaning and an educational intervention addressed to the beliefs of the partners may hasten this conclusion. The educator should not profess to be an instrument of any (real or putative) community; his/her continuing usefulness depends on the viability of the common stock in beliefs and values.

(d) *Autarky: the management of learning*

I mean by "autarky" that collective self-sufficiency which enables a community of meaning to sustain a common life and pursue shared purposes. (Cf. Etzioni 1968, ch. 5.) I use the word to distinguish between such self-sufficiency and autonomy — a quality of relations between one community and others. I doubt if any community, or even any great society can be quite autonomous today, though I am aware that certain superpowers refer to some of their satellite States as "autonomous republics". (Australia also has the Province of Hut River.) Autonomy is a political question whether attainable or not. Educators are obliged to concern themselves with political questions (Griffiths 1976) Haines 1975 (1) but not, I think, in the context of community method. Autarky, on the other hand, is the purpose of community education. If such education is possible at all then the self-sefficiency of the community is its first concern.

A theorist of learning groups already cited (Emery op. cit.) is cautious about the role of educators in such groups. I have commented on this in my own recent work. (Haines 1976, p. 58) There is merit in the view that the educator must neither obtrude in person nor encourage the group's dependence upon expertise, academic or other, lying outside the membership of the group. This has implications for that availability of theoretical (and technical) knowledge we said earlier was necessary to community education. To withold available knowledge from a community in order to retain the "low profile" of the educator would obviously be wrong; timing and other learning techniques must provide solutions. Indeed there is some risk that this emphasis on minimal intervention by the educator would be exploited and abused by a reaction against academic authority which, however justifiable as a rejection of authoritarianism, is a poor guide to educational principle. Some educators so resent genuine authority of intellect and knowledge that they try to exclude it from groups so that their own small light may shine the brighter. In the work I have cited, however, the dominant and proper concern is that the group shall depend upon its own resources so far as possible and be enabled to discover those still latent and unused without retreating from group responsibility into dependence upon others outside its membership who cannot be expected to share its values, beliefs and purposes. This seems a proper understanding of what we are calling community method.

Nevertheless, educators practising such a method may need to avoid the snare of "non-directive" participation with its encouragement to professional irresponsibility. Some comments on so-called non-directiveness among counsellors may be relevant to educators also.

"In any ordinary social relationship between two people there will always be some assimilation of each other's qualities."

"It is difficult to see how any professional service can be stripped of the motive or desire to be *instrumental* in bringing about a change by doing a service."

". . . the counsellor *means* to direct the patient toward health, and will include in his direction his own personal and idiosyncratic version of health." (Halmos 1965.)

Autarky means community management of educational resources and therefore of the community method. It would be for the professional educators to devise techniques within the method which support and promote self-sufficiency while making all relevant educational resources of knowledge available.

I had hoped to include in this paper some questions about the possibilities of community education, in this sense, as an extension of the work done by various kinds of academy, including the schools. This would make the paper too long, however, and raise questions of a complexity and nature which lie beyond the immediate concern. One general observation must suffice. Every academy and every academic is entitled to discover an obligation to communities arising out of the necessary disruption of community life caused in part by academic method. To act upon such an obligation will call for a review of all educational methods and values of the sort implied in this paper. I doubt whether this or any appropriate action following upon it will be practicable except through a partnership between various kinds of educational agency and the communities leading, most likely, to the development of new agencies and professions dedicated to the ends of community education.

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CAN THE COMMUNITY LEARN?

R. G. ROWLANDS

Introduction

In the days before the Second World War many popular slogans were tossed about in the educational world. "We are engaged in a race between education and catastrophe", was repeated with great fervour on innumerable occasions, as though the words themselves had some magic power to curb the monstrous forces which seemed hell-bent on the total destruction of civilisation itself. Could they really be appeased for long enough to enable reason and goodwill to gain control? Was it just wishful thinking or could education really play a significant part in those social reforms which could reduce tensions between classes and between nations?

Another popular theme for rhetoric was "the healing of the miserable divorce between learning and work". Dewey's pragmatic philosophy was still held in great respect although the first flush of novelty had gone. He set out the essentials of teaching method as follows:

"They are first that the pupil have a genuine situation of experience — that there be a continuous activity in which he is interested for its own sake; secondly, that a genuine problem develop within this situation as a stimulus to thought; third, that he possess the information and make the observations needed to deal with it; fourth that suggested solutions occur to him which he shall be responsible for developing in an orderly way; fifth, that he have opportunity and occasion to test his ideas by application, to make their meaning clear and to discover for himself their validity."[1]

There was no need to create an artificial world of "school" cut off from the industrialised life of contemporary "society", because the latter "is now so dependent upon science and so intimately affects all forms of social intercourse, that there is an opportunity to utilise it for development of mind and character".

In this context "character" is envisaged as the determinant of effective activity in the real world. Morality, as distinct from the moralistic preaching of particular virtues, is concerned with the striving to be self-related — to achieve a functional unity. And it is this very striving towards completeness, arising as it does from the instability of the relationship between individual and environment, which is at once the origin and meaning of all educational activity. "Since growth is the characteristic of life, education is all one with growing; it has no end beyond itself. The criterion of the value of school education is the extent in which it creates a desire for continued growth and supplies means for making the desire effective in fact." Moreover, such education is moral, "if it forms a character which not only does the particular deed socially necessary, but one which is interested in that continuous readjustment which is essential to growth. Interest in learning from all the contacts of life is the essential moral interest."[2]

The words that were being spoken and written so many years ago are not very different from the words that we are hearing today. The enemy

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that is threatening the continued existence of our civilisation is no longer seen to be the aggressive preparations of the totalitarian states. The villain of the modern race between "education and catastrophe" is our lack of concern for the conservation of the world's resources. This new enemy appears to be a more suitable target for attack by educational means, but the general concept is much the same. We are in desperate straits. The time is running out. An educational programme to match the growing emergency is called for. How can this be done except by transforming the community itself into a learning system? So runs the modern version of the theme.

The concept of the whole community collectively exploring its survival problems and actively engaged in problem-solving, is an appealing one.

Education is seen to be something much greater than an abstract exercise for the young, preparing to enter into their life's work, and becomes a vital part of living. Educational success is equated with survival, not just for the individual, but for the entire human species. The same point of view may be expressed in less extreme forms. How can human beings cope with the ever-increasing pace of change? In former times, major changes due to new discoveries took several generations to become established. Today several changes of this order of magnitude may be expected within a single life-time. The adaptations which formerly took place by the natural process of the death of the older generation and its replacement by the next, must now be accomplished by educational methods. Similar considerations apply to the rapid dissemination of change throughout the world.[8] These two factors in combination could create pressures sufficient to make society "come apart at the seams" unless it can develop the characteristics of a learning system.

The mis-match between institutions and problems

The general proposition is a revival of an old argument. It is the "race between education and catastrophe" all over again but in a more plausible form. The community is travelling at ever-increasing speed along a road that leads to its own destruction. It must learn from its present predicament so that it can turn from self-destruction to self-preservation. The trouble is that history is full of examples of failure of the community to learn from its experiences of collective folly. Some might argue, "We have learned from the lessons of the Great Depression", or "We have learned from the lessons of the Second World War", but such statements are so vague as to be almost worthless. The community cannot successfully pursue the problem-solving activities of a learning system because it operates through institutions which are not designed for this purpose. There is a large-scale mis-match between the array of institutions and organisations which the community has created as the very foundation of its stability and the pressing problems which demand flexibility and constant re-structuring if solutions are to be found.

Public learning typically takes the form of specific enquiries, commissions or projects, from which flow recommendations which may or may not be implemented. It is based on the assumption that the recommended changes will lead to a new period of stability rather than a continuous questioning of established ways.

Once the mis-match between institutions and problems comes to be seen as an increasingly common feature of community existence there is a growing tendency towards the creation of new "functional systems" combining many previously separate components. This means that there is a shift upwards in the level of generality at which organisations envisage their spheres of operation. These broad "functional systems" can no longer operate effectively by vesting all power and authority in a central headquarters which directly controls each of the dependent units scattered throughout the periphery. The traditional model of bureaucracy tends to break down. The mismatch between institutions and problems tends to be seen by headquarters as loss of control, insubordination, or the work of sinister subversive elements. Action taken to correct the situation by demanding closer adherence to the established "chain of command", tighter discipline, getting rid of subversive elements, etc., only serves to generate a reaction. There are increasingly strong demands by the peripheral units for local participation or even for complete autonomy. Ultimately modifications have to be made to the centre-periphery model to save it from total break-down. These take the form of "least-change adaptations". Central remains the principal decision point, the repository of all important information and all facilities for its processing and dissemination besides being the sole originator of new methods and procedures.[4]

In a further stage of this movement towards broader functional systems and greater generality, central may confine itself to the development of themes around which the peripheral units devise their own variations. As this progresses central is increasingly concerned with collecting information about the ways in which the semi-autonomous units are developing and synthesising this material into broad policy themes.

Its role is to prevent the onset of a too-radical decentralism by helping the peripheral units to transform themselves and by the provision of adequate communication networks. This transformation process is facilitated by encouraging the units to evaluate their own activities and to circulate the results of such evaluation as widely as possible. Examples of learning systems which appear to be approaching this stage in the process of their development are the Victoria Institute of Colleges (V.I.C.) and the State College of Victoria (S.C.V.). By contrast, the various State Education Departments appear to be mainly at the stage of "lease-change adaptations".

Blue-print for a learning system

An important development in Victoria is the setting up of an institution "to provide assistance for persons who are in a process of transition from secondary school to further studies or employment or from employment to further secondary studies on a basis of adequate information, consultation, guidance and preparation". These are the words used in the *Victorian Institute of Secondary Education Act 1976* to describe the first object of the new Institute. In his second reading speech the Minister of Education explained its second object as follows:

> "Since it is very generally the experience around the world that there is need for some kind of body to ensure that standards attained at the

> senior level across the broad range of secondary schools are comparable and satisfactory, it is clear that machinery for this purpose will be necessary in Victoria. In addition such a system would have the merit of fairness to students in that all students across the state would be subjected to the same assessment procedures. Consequently the Institute will be required (Clause 4 (1)(b)) to assist the transition process by conducting or arranging for a suitable assessment process or processes to determine the abilities and achievements of students. In view of the importance attached to this assessment in maintaining academic standards in our schools it was thought desirable to require the Institute to consult with the Minister if it wished to vary policy at any time on the conduct of the assessment."

The wide powers to be possessed by the Institute are set out in the following clauses of the Act:

"4(2) In furthering the objects of the Institute, the Institute may—

(a) undertake activities designed to create within the Victorian community an informed opinion about the objects and activities of the Institute;

(b) establish and maintain regular consultations between all those directly concerned with the transition of students from secondary school to further studies or employment or from employment to further secondary studies;

(c) collect, process and disseminate general information relevant to such transition;

(d) co-operate with schools, post-secondary institutions and other bodies in the development of—

(i) a variety of curricula appropriate for the preparation of students for their life in the community;

(ii) methods for the evaluation of such curricula; and

(iii) adequate advisory services to assist students, teachers and parents in matters relating to the process of transition; and

(e) conduct and support research into all or any of the matters relevant to the objects of the Institute or the exercise of its powers under this Act.

(3) In the distribution of information the Institute shall ensure that when information is of a personal nature and refers to individual students it shall be made available to authorities or persons, other than the student, only with the express approval of the student concerned.

(4) In the furtherance of any of the objects of the Institute the Council may conduct any project alone or together with any other person, body, institution, corporation, or authority including the Crown or any instrumentality of the Crown or as a member of any group or corporation formed for the purpose of any such project and whether or not the project is conducted on property owned or occupied by the

> Institute or elsewhere and may enter into any arrangement for conducting any such project."

Some critics of the Act have objected vehemently to the setting up of a new power structure. They foresee the possibility of more restrictive strait-jackets being clamped upon the secondary schools. The "centre-periphery model" is still in evidence. In this case "central" is the Council of 25 members and the peripheral units consist of all secondary schools, both government and non-government, together with all post-secondary institutions which may or may not wish to make use of the services provided. Even the most superficial reading of the text must show that the aspect of power structure has been minimised and the provision of services has been maximised. To those familiar with the Report on which the Act was based the spirit and intention is quite clear. It was set out in the following statement in the CASCA Report:

> "Fourthly, the Council should not be given, and should not seek, any powers to compel anyone to do anything. Its manner of operation should be to advise, to facilitate, to encourage and to support. It should not sit over anyone; it should sit with them. It should be funded so that it can help in the task of educational development, but it should help people do what they themselves want to do, and not tell them what they must do. It should operate at all points on request, and not otherwise. . . . The matters and groups with which the Council will deal are so important that unless the operation can be made to work on a basis of agreement and consensus, it cannot be made to work at all. The Council's strength will be derived from the authority of knowledge, and not from coercive powers: and that, in the Committee's view, is where the future lies."[5]

In all fairness the wording of the Act must be read in the light of this knowledge of the intention of its sponsors. The model that then emerges is one that has moved a long way from that of a bureaucratic power structure towards the development of a major theme with many minor themes and variations.

The major theme is that of transition from secondary education to any type of post-secondary or higher education. When expressed in functional terms and operating at a high level of generality this theme is envisaged as the provision of a wide range of services such as:

Assessment Services
Advisory Services
Counselling Services
Curriculum Services
Evaluation Services
Information Services
Research Services.

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As these functions develop there must be considerable diversification to meet the needs of the various groups which are being serviced. Hence the growth of many minor themes and variations. The function of "central" is not to police this development but to facilitate it. The advent of such an institution represents a further step on the evolutionary path from the centre-periphery model towards a model which embodies the essential features of an advanced learning system. It is characterised by extreme flexibility and the acceptance of broad functional objectives rather than the highly specific ones of earlier structures. The emphasis is on the design of a network rather than the perfection of a particular technique. The pattern of community learning is no longer seen as a succession of sweeps of minor innovations from a centre throughout a periphery, but the generation of a set of self-transforming networks.

Power structure or problem-solving service?

Such a change cannot be expected to occur easily and quickly. Its difficulties are well illustrated by the Curriculum Services Enquiry recently conducted by the Victorian Education Department. The problem arose because the central authority had gradually acquired a collection of "special branches" to handle needs which had arisen from time to time.

These were:

(a) Curriculum and Research Branch;
(b) Physical Education Branch;
(c) Primary Art Branch;
(d) Drama Resource Centre;
(e) School Forestry Branch;
(f) Music Branch;
(g) School Camps Branch.

There were also a number of newer curriculum initiatives which had not achieved the status of "special branches" within the central administration, although there appeared to be no logical reason why this status should be denied them, unless it could be shown that the time was ripe for the development of some totally different structure. At a time when the department itself was moving away from the centre-periphery model of bureaucratic control towards greater flexibility and autonomy it seemed inappropriate to go on proliferating "special branches" within the central administration. There was a strong body of opinion that a different structure would be more suitable for the dissemination and co-ordination of curriculum innovations. The large number of reports and public hearings which eventuated showed the variety of views which exist and the immense complexity of the problem.

The following table gives some idea of the number and scope of the submissions received:

TABLE 1

Number	*Received from*
92	Primary Schools
52	Secondary Schools
14	Technical Schools
6	Special Schools
13	School Committees and Advisory Councils
35	Tertiary Institutions
31	Regions
61	Education Department groups, branches and committees
112	Individuals, schools and organisations outside the Education Department

In addition, there were 180 requests for interviews with the committee to support written submissions. Finally, a questionnaire was sent to a random sample of 2,000 teachers in all divisions to obtain the views of those actively engaged in teaching.[6]

What had looked like a fairly straightforward question of administrative convenience was revealed as a basic issue which demanded much questioning of functions, structures and goals.

Whatever new insights emerge from this Curriculum Services Enquiry and whatever re-structuring may occur as a result, we can rest assured that there will be no "final solution". Should each of the major divisions of the Education Department — primary, secondary and technical — provide its own services, or should the principle of decentralisation operate to make this a function of the regional directorates? Other possibilities suggest themselves until the mind boggles at the great proliferation of possible agencies to handle services which are already being provided. The great venture of innovation and the provision of services which will make it possible for schools to embark upon it with adequate support is another matter again. It calls for a different order of imagination which can transform the machinery of an existing bureaucracy into a self-sustaining and self-regulating learning system. The first tentative steps have been taken and the days of "least change adaptations" are giving place to bolder thinking and planning. Much will depend upon the steps which are now being taken to formalise the relationships between the elements of the three-tiered structure which is emerging — the central authority, the regional directorates and the schools.[7]

The next step in community participation

The Education (School Councils) Act 1975 provided for a new level of community involvement which will allow members of school councils and others to develop a general educational policy for the local school.

Although this does not extend to involvement in the details of classroom practice it can be justly claimed that Victoria has gone further than other Australian states in the process of decentralisation of decision-making in education. The Education Department (Amendment) Regulations 1976 set out the procedures for implementation of the Act. By early 1977 the newly elected school councils will be beginning to exercise their powers at the local level in such matters as employment of non-teaching staff, design and erection of buildings and the necessary finance to implement these decisions. These changes represent steps along a path which is leading the Victorian Education Department towards a total transformation of its structure, functions and modes of operation. It is perceptibly moving away from the centre-periphery model and towards network modes of growth, evaluation and diffusion. The network model is one in which each element is connected to every other through multiple interconnections. The lines of communication between the units are through one another rather than to each other through a centre. Networks may be defined through the nature of their elements, the nature of their interconnecting channels and the nature of the transactions that flow through these channels. Within organisations there are both formal and informal networks. There may also be shadow networks, underground networks and subversive networks. Some of these informal networks are very important in saving systems from complete breakdown when official lines of communication become overloaded or blocked. They also serve to supplement the official system by operating in areas which are either newly developing or have been overlooked and neglected.

Network models and learning systems

Because of the nature of the communications links which develop in the network model and the feed-back loops which are readily created, it possesses the essential characteristics of a true learning system. It is the general tendency of educational institutions, of government agencies and of private business enterprises to evolve in this direction which forces a reconsideration of earlier attempts to answer the question, "Can the community learn?" Other things being equal the glib answer would appear to be "No", for mankind tends to repeat the same mistakes over and over again. But other things are not equal. Learning from haphazard experiences is unlikely to be more than superficial, however salutory and/or bitter those experiences may be. Learning in a structured situation which facilitates problem-solving, is a different matter. For the individual it is a matter of perceiving the problem, then developing and testing possible solutions, finally validating the adequacy of the solution which has been found. The lasting gains from such learning experiences do not arise so much from the content, or the ability to recall the material, but from the processing skills of handling the raw data and arriving at valid solutions to the problems which it poses. This is the justification for the common statement that education is what remains after all that has been learned in school has been forgotten. It is not knowledge in the form of "simple recall" which matters but "know how" — the perception of the nature of the problem and the processing of the raw data until an acceptable solution has been found. In the case of complex problems this may involve considerable development of the higher mental processes.

Some areas of disillusionment

The concept of the transformation of the major institutions of the community into learning systems is a powerful source of hope in a world which has become increasingly disillusioned about the role of traditional education. Efforts to take the school out into the community so that students may experience the problems of the community at first hand have not met with unqualified success. A few "community schools" and "alternative schools" have experimented along these lines with the object of making education more relevant for their students. The results achieved indicate that there are still many difficulties to be overcome in the implementation of this type of educational experience.

Somewhat more successful have been the schemes for providing secondary school students with opportunities for gaining "work experience". However, the purpose of such schemes is usually to help young people in making realistic vocational choices rather than to give them an insight into the problems of the community. Likewise those who hope to reform the social injustices of the community by providing better educational opportunities for disadvantaged groups have little reason to believe that their expectations can be realised to any significant extent. A recent report sums up the situation as follows:

> "In our view, the gross inequalities existing in the workforce are not simply the consequences of educational inequalities. Nor do we believe that the reduction of educational inequality can, of itself, eliminate such injustices. There are processes operating in our society which increase the disadvantage of those already disadvantaged. Instead of sharing in the advantages brought by technology, poor people and members of other minority groups are often its victims. . . . At one level, the general picture in western industrialised societies, including Australia, is that 'the middle class and affluent profit more than the working class and poor from state-subsidised services, such as education and health'. As well, successful learning at school stands out as a major determinant of entry into satisfying and well-paid employment. But so long as access to careers is restricted to a minority of workers, the familiar stress on competition and academic success within the schooling system will combine to defeat all but a very few children of low income families, irrespective of their intellectual ability. As a result, the growing gap between the haves and the have-nots in a so-called egalitarian society will continue to widen."[8]

Another simplistic belief which has led to a certain amount of disillusionment among its sponsors is that of community education as an investment. It is easy to establish the fact that there is a relationship between level of education attained and level of income subsequently earned.

This can be seen by reference to Table 2 which shows the median income for full-time workers with different levels of education.[9]

TABLE 2

Full year, full-time workers with and without post-school qualifications: median income

1973

Qualifications		*Males* $	*Females* $
Degree tertiary		9,210	6,790
Non-degree tertiary		7,970	5,210
Technical level		6,940	4,080
Trade level		5,680	3,740
Other qualification		5,920	3,850
Left school at 18	and no subsequent qualifications.	5,450	3,750
Left school at 17		5,190	3,680
Left school at 16		4,980	3,400
Left school at 14 or 15		4,850	3,310
Left school at 13 or under		4,700	3,210

From information of this sort it seems logical to argue that raising the average level of education of the community will bring about a higher average income. Education is then seen as an investment by the community which pays dividends in the form of higher incomes all round. It can be argued that large increases in expenditure on education will more than pay for themselves through the resulting economic growth of the whole community. Experience in Australia and overseas has made it clear that there is no automatic flow on of benefits in the form of higher productivity and increased employment opportunities.

> "The pattern of rapid expansion of tertiary education which was set by the Robbins Report in Britain (1963) and the Martin Report in Australia (1965) has had time to work itself out. With the advantage of hind-sight it is now seen to have been based on some rather naive assumptions. Chief among these was the belief that this expansion was an investment in economic growth which would pay for itself by increased productivity. So long as this belief could be sustained there was a rising demand for tertiary places which continually kept ahead of the efforts to expand the supply. Economic growth did occur and job opportunities for graduates proliferated. That the way to a good life for the individual and the community was through tertiary education appeared to be axiomatic. But now we hear of negative economic growth and graduate unemployment has become an increasingly familiar phenomenon. Confidence in the role of tertiary education as a determinant of the pace of economic growth has been shaken and it is not at all clear what new role can be ascribed to justify the huge expenditure on what is now seen to be, at least partially, a form of conspicuous consumption rather than an investment."[10]

Despite the battering of successive waves of enthusiasm for the role of education in promoting a better community, followed by troughs of disillusionment when the expected benefits failed to materialise, there remains a strong ground-swell of belief that education is a "good thing". Governments are reluctant to make cuts in the education budget because they are aware of the unpopularity of such economies. There is a "gut-feeling" that the over-production of graduates can only be a temporary phenomenon and that the community is richer for having highly trained minds even if they cannot be immediately fitted in to the occupations for which they have been trained. It is said that the narrow range of employment opportunities for the highly educated is more a matter of social attitudes than harsh necessity. As attitudes change the problem will disappear.

> "Let us take a statement commonly made these days: the number of graduates being produced is greater than the number of jobs available. This presupposes that at any given time there exists in the community a given number of graduate jobs. But there is no evidence that this is so. Indeed there is so much substitutibility between different types of occupation that the labour market is very largely adjustable to the supply of the various categories of labour. The factor which introduces imbalance is not the demands of the labour market but rather the behavioural characteristics of employers and job-seekers. The expectations, preconceptions and prejudices entertained by people in both of these groups retard the process by which adaptation takes place. Nevertheless, we must accept that there are some jobs which require people with particular qualifications, though the forces which impose these requirements are sometimes artificial; the pressures exerted by professional associations, in some cases supported by legislation. Even so, it is impossible to be definite as to their number. There are two main reasons for this. The first is often mentioned but still quite obviously imperfectly comprehended: the structural lag which must exist between the time when a need for people with specific qualifications is perceived and the time when the education system can begin producing them. . . . The other problem arises because, even in such apparently clear-cut cases as the professions, substitution can and does take place. For example, it may seem straightforward to estimate the requirements for medical graduates, but a little thought will show that medical graduates are an element in the provision of medical services for the community, and that these can be provided in many different ways, with varying emphasis on research, prevention and treatment, and with widely differing mixes of hospital services, community medicine, and general practice, or of doctors, nurses and medical technologists. . . . With these considerations in mind it becomes apparent that the statement, unfortunately common at present, that Australia is producing too many graduates is nonsense. We may be producing more graduates than we can afford: that is arguable. But given a certain expenditure on education the problem is to find ways of reducing the lags, structural and attitudinal, which inhibit adaptation between the labour market and the numbers of graduates being produced."[11]

Because of the deep-seated community belief in the value of education, the growth of community participation in the problem-solving and decision-making activities of administration at the local level is likely to continue. The traditional bureaucracy shows promising signs of transforming itself into something which could become self-generating in the introduction of novel ways to meet novel problems. In this situation of public learning which is fore-shadowed by this paper the learning agent is not an individual but an institution which maintains continuity over the learning process. Projective models are built up in the social memory from the accumulation of what are, in effect, case histories. They are models in the sense of being fairly generalised conceptual patterns relating characteristics of action, situation and outcome. They are projective in the sense of being projected on to the next situation as a perspective on that situation and subject to modification or even transformation by contact with that situation. Individuals come and go but the collective learning agent continues, for without this continuity the evolution of projective models cannot occur. The essence of this type of community learning is its open-endedness. It can only exist in conditions of maximum flexibility. The collective learning agent must be willing to see his projective model "come apart" in the new situation and to synthesize a modified model or even a totally new one as the old one falls to pieces. Moreover, in situations of public action the collective learning agent must be able to confront multiple, conflicting perspectives on the situation with one another and to be used as an informational instrument within the learning situation.

Conclusion

It is one of the most heartening signs of the times that new institutions endowed with the requisite flexible powers should be established at this time and that older institutions should give strong indications of evolving in this direction. If the community is ever to learn this would appear to be the way in which it must be done. It is not beyond the realms of possibility for an increasing number of institutions, both in the public sector and in the private sector, to evolve into problem-solving learning systems. Such a development would mean that the human race has at last come of age for the tensions arising from the failure to solve community problems would be much reduced. By the same token the attractiveness of movements which proposed to resolve such tensions by the violent overthrow of one power structure by another would be lost. The community can learn! The discovery of the way in which it can break down the rigid formal structures which are no longer appropriate and convert them into learning systems provides a blue-print for the future. The old concept of a "race between education and catastrophe" has a relevance for today if we interpret education to include the rapid extension of community learning systems of the type described in this paper.

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COMMUNITY IN EDUCATION

S. Sampson

Recently in Victoria, there has been a serious attempt to involve parents, taxpayers, local personnel — the community — in education by means of legislative enactment. It will be some time before we know if the community in that sense has begun to exercise influence or even show interest in its schools.

In another sense, however, the Australian "community", at many levels, has always been there: in the classroom, in the corridors, with the students and their teachers. I am referring to the impact of our culture with its particular beliefs and value systems; that part of the curriculum rarely referred to, often unrecognised (in the way fish would probably fail to recognise water); that part of the socialisation process of the young, the underlying assumptions of which most teachers and students do not question.

It is this aspect of community — culture and ideology — which demarcates for the young, dominant and subordinate groups, the value we place on age, on skin colour, on the skills of confrontation compared to skills of negotiation, on "Australian" compared to "American", and amongst many others, the topic I want to talk about today, the values and beliefs about being female, compared to being male. I hope, first of all, to show that community attitudes, where they are outdated or stereotyped, may be dysfunctional in this regard, as they operate in our schools, and then to examine why they are not frequently questioned there, and what could perhaps be done about it.

If I might just remind you of what we know about culture. It is all-pervasive and the sociological use of the term refers to material, behavioural and ideological factors. These three may be out of kilter, with sometimes disastrous, sometimes merely dysfunctional effects to the social fabric. Cultures and sub-cultures abound, but the impact of "learning" or being socialised into a culture such as ours is that we believe the way we do things is "natural" — in Australia, for instance, we think boys are somehow "naturally" not as good at reading as girls. It surprises us to find that in Israel or West Germany, this is not the case (Preston, 1962; Gross, 1976). Our community has absorbed this in-built belief — part of our image of "male-ness" in Australia.

Thirdly, cultures do change, though slowly. As I've mentioned, change can occur in one area and not in others. This phenomenon has been named "cultural lag" by Ogburn (1922) and an example pertinent today, would be the motor car — development of material technology had led to the speed and shape of the modern car, but our adaptive behaviour has lagged behind — we haven't learned how to avoid being killed by it.

My first point with regard to men and women and the community in education, then, is this: attitudes to male and female, and the behaviour of both have lagged behind material advances. Particularly in regard to education, I believe, we have a state of "cultural lag".

For example, we know that women now have 30 years more of life than their grandmothers did in 1900. What has changed in our education to match that? Yes, we have kept our daughters at school longer, but did we change what we taught them? Or have we planned education for that healthy, older age group? Have we accepted, as a community, that this new population of women — beyond childbearing age — (who haven't died of puerperal fever or constant childbearing) — have a rightful place, a role in our community? — and therefore in the knowledge and aspirations of young girls and young boys in the socialisation process in schools?

To proceed, we really do know, most of us, that more than half of all women of childbearing age will have had all their children before they are 26 years old. Because medical technology has offered them a choice, they will have two children only (occasionally three) and because of the way our society is organised, they will have those children taken off their hands for 7-8 hours of the day, by the time each woman is in her early 30's. School is compulsory.

Has our behaviour — i.e., how we equip girls in schools to live as adult women in our society — adapted to fit the material technology we offer such as the mass produced food and labour-saving devices in the home; the increased communication about the community at large, and the increased educational level which leads young women to expect to be part of the world; the changed nature of most work, where skills rather than physical strength are at a premium; the fact that men, as well as women, are taking advantage of advances in contraception, to choose smaller families and of increased leisure, to share in their care?

There are many more instances such as these, however my questions are rhetorical. I don't believe schools, as an integral part of "community" have adapted to meet the challenges presented by medical, scientific and technological advance, and those who have been most seriously handicapped by this cultural lag have been women because it is they whose personal lives have been primarily affected by invention and knowledge in this century.

This problem is often diminished by those who do not understand it, to "women are demanding equality", or even "that's women's lib.". Alternately, people who perceive the changes which have already resulted, are afraid or feel threatened themselves (both women and men) and react with fury — or belittling humour. But, you know, the problem won't go away, just because we don't like it, and we in schools, really do have a special responsibility to which I shall return a little later.

The reactions of women themselves to all these changes are well known. They have been opting back into the mainstream, after their families go to school, in part-time, or full-time jobs. Despite the current economic impasse, 54.6% of all married women, aged 35-44, were in the workforce in November 1976.

The people who are unemployed are our most recent products, young women under the age of 21, and this, I think, is the real reason why "women's lib." as an accusation is spurious, and deliberately falsifying the situation, making it more superficial, less important than it is.

In Australia, women's life patterns clearly demonstrate that they will need to work before they bear their children and after those children go to school — and make no mistake, we need them in the workforce in Australia. Because of the raising of the school leaving age to 15, in recent years, and the fact that fewer older men are in the workforce over the age of 60, as well as 100% increase in the divorce rate since 1947, the enormous influx of women into the workforce over the last 20 years, has barely kept workforce increase equal to population increase (A.B.S. Social Indicators, 1976).

Schools, however, have been equipping girls with skills which are becoming progressively less and less saleable. In February 1977 young girls were the majority of unemployed youth* and 65% of those girls registered as unemployed were seeking clerical work. What an indictment of our preparation! The material world has changed; the copy-typist has been replaced by the photocopier, the tape-recorder, etc.; clerical work has been declining as an occupation for years, and all these young girls have left school, equipped only with clerical skills. Many of their brothers and boy-friends are unemployed, it is true, but they are seeking work in a variety of occupations, as wide as the workforce itself. Girls are still being prepared for traditional female jobs — sales, as if there'd been no marketing revolution to do away with labor costs! — office work — teaching, where we've run out of children! Nursing is the only traditionally female occupation which is still growing.

Why haven't we seen this coming? My reply to that question is that our decision-makers — in resource allocation in Education Departments; in teacher training and allocation; in curriculum planning; competing to start new tertiary programmes in our Colleges and Universities; and planning technical and further education, have been almost entirely unaffected because they are NOT women, they are men.

Cultural lag and dysfunctional community attitudes are evident in the distribution of knowledge and competencies in our schools in other ways. This time I want to discuss a broader issue than just job skills, though once again the two are closely related. I think everyone would agree that to be a part of the way the world is going today, it is necessary to feel competent in scientific/technological areas. You don't have to know how to fix your car, but it helps if you can look at a motor car engine and know which parts are doing (or not doing) what. It helps if you can comprehend Light and Space, and Time, in the space-travel era; if you can read information expressed in graph or table form, etc.

In this world, most girls leave school virtual incompetents. It is not that they fail at the subjects which tend to develop these skills — maths, sciences, technical drawing, accounting. They leave school feeling they cannot cope with these ideas. What appears to happen is to do with the "hidden" curriculum in many guises — the unintentional, even unintended, aspect of schooling. Take the timetable for instance. At an eastern suburban (Melbourne) high school this year, Form III girls have a choice about doing science; they can do typewriting instead. Form III boys do not have a choice. Probably, nobody goes around telling those girls "Don't do Science" — teachers think they are doing the best for their pupils, but the message that girls get from that timetable is NOT good for them — or for the boys. Think of a better way of telling them, that significant others think girls don't need to know science. It is messages such as this, unspoken, rarely acknowledged, on which girls (and boys) come to believe what is "suitable" for the female sex. Let us look briefly at the hidden curriculum and its relevance for future role. Whoever tells girls that many of the traditional female occupations are outdated? We don't, because they're people and we don't like to cloud those bright young faces (some of them *will* get jobs — the lucky ones), because we're men and women ourselves, and our own skills and occupations are often threatened — we don't, in schools, because we, the teachers, often do not know these things. Recently, the Victorian Committee on Equal Opportunity in Schools, with which I am concerned, has been collating data (on girls' and boys' schooling) to present to the Premier. We had to seek statistical data about employment, life patterns of males and females, schooling, further education, decision-making involvement in education alone, from *seven* official sources (State and Federal). What teacher, even with the highest motivation, could dream of collating data, even though it might be dramatically relevant to their pupils' future, from such a variety of sources?

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*The unemployment rate for girls aged 15-19 years is 18.7%, of males 15.2%; the overall unemployment rate is 5.4% (February 1977, A.B.S.).

Finally, the hidden curriculum includes misleading beliefs about our society. Girls and boys in Australia live in a "cloud-cuckoo" land of sexual equality, until they emerge into the outside world and reality hits them. In December 1975, and December 1976, I have given to over 3,200 school students, half males and half females, sex-role attitude questionnaires to which I shall refer, shortly, which included certain measures of reality. I have discovered — to select but a few examples of the latter, that the average 14-16 year-old has really not the faintest idea to within 30 of the number of women in Federal or State Parliament, that they believe women have never been judges in Australian courts and that, since the equal pay legislation, women earn the same average wage as men. This age group also believe, contrary to the evidence in front of their eyes, that boys are naturally better at maths and science than girls and that women are happier looking after their children than going out to work; not individual women; not most women or some women, but women as a sex.

As you can see, all these pieces of information fit either a falsely egalitarian notion of Australian society or a stereotype of male and female, and it is my contention that most schools do nothing to introduce reality, when it conflicts with the stereotype. The most frightening thing about these responses, to me, is that well over half of all these students left school within a month or two of making them. We are sending out adults who are misinformed about the inequalities of male/female participation in important areas of society, and also misinformed in a more subtle way about the individuality of human beings. This kind of misinformation has serious consequences. At a time when Victorian research into mathematics (Clements and Wattanawaha, 1977) is demonstrating that girls are at least the equal of boys in logic and number, and even, in the western suburbs, in spatial ability too, our committee has found that about half of all girls going on to matriculation, whose later education choices in Victoria will include 212 tertiary courses out of which 182 require or recommend a branch of mathematics or science; even *these* girls drop maths. The trend is the only hopeful thing. Only 5,308 out of 14,554 entrants at H.S.C. in Victoria for the three maths, were female, but the number has gone up slightly in each of the last few years.

My reason for discussing these aspects of schooling is to highlight the hidden curriculum, the unspoken assumptions of pupils and teachers. These aspects of being taught about our culture are reinforced by the message from the curriculum proper — that women's real role in life is the care of home and children, implicit in the provision of Home Economics, still taken mostly by girls; "motherhood" courses, instead of "parenthood" ones; the school task division with girls on social service and tuckshop and boys on gardening and incinerator duty. There are very few schools still where this implicit lesson is balanced by factual description and discussion of the way the world is, outside the school. Let me give some examples:

— How many girls are told that full-time, full-year female workers in Australia earn only two-thirds the male wage? Or put that another way, that 70.1% of women (full-time, full-year) in 1973-4 earned under $5,000 and that 71.6 men earned over $5,000. That nearly 20% of all full-time female workers in that year earned less than $3,000? (A.B.S. Social Indicators, 1976, p. 57.)

— How many girls are told that the largest single group of the poor are *women?*

— That 64% of women in 1976 were working in only three areas — clerical; sales; service, sport and recreation?

— That 43% of all women over the age of 15 in Australia were in the workforce in 1976?

If girls knew some of these facts, would they question the status quo or make different choices or see the career relevance of studies like mathematics? or entry to the skilled trades or further education?

To return to the hidden curriculum (culture or community in our schools) I would like you to see that I am talking about the social distribution of knowledge — vital to making realistic choices. We teachers, men and women, may either proffer or withhold information about social reality. If schools were to want to perpetuate the unhappy situation of unemployment for many young females, and a feeling of worthlessness for many older women, then they wouldn't need to lift a finger — just let outdated community notions of female competence and future role filter into the consciousness of these boys and girls without question and without factual

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contradiction. But schools surely don't want that! I believe we owe it to our young people not to hide the truth, and to let them choose their future, with their eyes wide open. Surely that is the core of education in any community — its duty — to inform the young about the skills, ideas, practices, of their society.

I believe that one of the most important reasons why this is not being done in Australian schools, generally, yet, is that decision-making with regard to most aspects of schooling, does not fairly represent the community (though it may represent the dominant culture) in schools — and you will recall from Professor Encel's data and my own, it is not, in this case, the dominant or male culture which has been primarily affected by change. In Victoria there is not one woman in the top 64 positions in the Education Department. All are held by men. I don't know how this compares with other States in 1977, but on data only two and three years old, it appears to be quite typical of Australia generally.

Out of the top 176 positions in the Victorian department in 1977, there were only 13 women — the most senior level held by a woman is Teacher Education Officer. (It is heartening to note the appointment of a woman as a Regional Director in South Australia.) These all-male regions are where resources are allocated, where schools and TAFE colleges are planned; this is the level where decisions about new curriculum initiatives are taken. In Victoria, to establish an adequate and permanent dissemination of the kind of material I've discussed, so that all female students are acquainted with what might be seen as the rather unpalatable facts about their job chances and their future income, etc., in relation to males, it is necessary to convince a series of men to see the need to fund it, and to act. There are no women at all making this kind of decision.

However, when I commented that I did not believe educational decision-makers fairly represented the community which is composed of males and females, of course I meant more than just central authorities. In Victoria, we have very few women principals in our schools; in our 272 High Schools there are only 38 women principals and yet 48% of permanent teachers are women.

In our primary schools, taking Special Class and Senior Teacher Class, there are only 104 female principals out of 777 such schools, although 68% of permanent teachers are women. Technical Schools are 73% boys only in Victoria and there are four women principals out of 116 schools.

When my committee was asked to investigate this state of affairs, suggestions were put forward that this was, first of all, because women did not apply for such positions, and also because they could not handle discipline and were not seen as authority figures in schools. It was further hinted from numerous sources that women were not as good as men at "running things". We decided to establish the possible truth of these allegations by a small study of male and female principals, by means of student questionnaires. A summary of this research is available (*Australia New Zealand Journal of Sociology*, June 1977) but I want to deal with two related phenomena which have emerged from this work. First of all I believe that the reason why there are not so many women principals as one would expect is only partly related to the numbers of women applicants. In one service, the primary division in Victoria, there are not two categories of promotion. You can be assessed (by an inspectorate which is 98% male) as either "suitable as principal" or "suitable as non-principal". You will not, perhaps, be astonished to hear that women were receiving the latter, and men the former assessment — despite an investigation revealing that women have been longer in service in their class than men applying and have equal qualifications. That is ONE point. Women were applying for assessment as principals but inspectors did not see them as "suitable".

Secondly, in the course of the research into the role of the female High School principal, we had a series of questions about the appropriateness of certain tasks, for male and female. (Deciding what needs to be done; giving instructions to other people, getting people to co-operate to get things done, and understanding how students feel.) We thought that as the female principals whose students were involved, would have had to be really outstanding to get where they were — among 38 out of 272 — that we would rather bias the results — that these students would believe both men and women could be equally good at these tasks, where perhaps students in ordinary male principal schools would not.

The girls lived up to our expectations and a majority at each of the ten schools thought "individual men and women could be equally good" at all the tasks, though more believed that women would be better at "understanding how students feel". The intriguing result came from the boys. On no task, did a majority of these 800, 14-17 year-old boys believe that females alone, or both individual males and females would be equally competent. To these boys, in 1976, only men possess these characteristics of leadership. Moreover, while the sex differences were statistically highly significant, on these questions relating to female or male competence, there were no differences for boys in school type. These really outstanding women principals had done nothing, by their example, to alter stereotypes of women perceived by the boys in their schools.

The inference which I draw from these two facts — that women are less often seen as suitable for principals, and that boys don't see women *as a sex*, as possessing certain quite important attributes is that, as yet, a number of men and many boys in schools have a stereotyped view of women's capabilities. Women are categorised by *sex* rather than as individuals, who, like men, possess varied strengths and weaknesses.

Certain other evidence supports this tentative conclusion. Sixteen hundred students were given 31 sex role attitude questions. A summary measure constructed to show modern compared to traditional views, once again, produced highly significant differences (at .00001 level) between boys' and girls' attitudes, with boys being much more traditional, girls more modern. Girls in schools with female principals were consistently more modern on the sex-role attitude measure than girls in schools with male principals, though this measure did not reach adequate levels of significance. I have to admit that I was surprised that sex differences in responses were so significant statistically, for girls are no less the victims of stereotyped perceptions — as we've seen with maths and science.

I want to propose an explanation, here, based upon the notion of "cultural lag" to which I have referred. The impact of social changes in the last few years have been most directly affecting girls and women. Perhaps, even though it has done little to affect their choices of jobs or studies, these girls have come to question the stereotype of the male as more capable than the female sufficiently to recognise the qualities of individual women. That is really what this research was about — acceptance of a stereotype for a whole sex, i.e. women. Boys accept it, girls do not. A great deal more evidence is needed, however.

Clearly, boys (and a good many girls) could be involved in a more realistic appraisal of the relationship of the sexes in society, and of individual differences. Girls and boys need more realistic information and discussion of the issue. Unless this happens in school, a majority of girls will gradually accept the subtle information about their place in the scheme of things, which pervades the mainstream culture in which they live and work; and a further generation of women, for whom there is no social role beyond child rearing, will bear witness in anomie, divorce, drug-taking and frustration to entrenched sex stereotypes and conservative attitudes.

Finally, I would like to conclude with a rather brief discussion of attitudes present in the community toward the educational issues I have been discussing. A number of examples come to mind:

— When the topic is raised of women's absence from leadership positions, a common reply is "But women won't apply".

— The primary inspection result which I mentioned briefly earlier, is often excused with

> "The women don't really want to be principals, they apply only because they want the highest assessment."

— Recently at an in-service day, at a Melbourne school, when I asked teachers not to give girls the notion that doing what they were told, conformity, was a socially valuable or saleable characteristic in adult life, four or five men on the staff told me what a bad example the older women on the staff set, by not being involved and outspoken at staff meetings. One or two younger women agreed with them.

— When girls' mathematical persistence is questioned in schools, the reply usually incorporates some mention of innate abilities.

> "Whatever you say, girls can't do problems", or
> "Boys run rings around them."

— When you know, too, as most teachers do, that boys initially have more reading problems than girls, and that, in Victoria last year, 3% more girls than boys stayed on to H.S.C., when you know that more girls *like* school, and that their results are at least equal to boys on average, across the board, it is difficult to believe that it is the girls who are unemployed more often than boys, the girls whose incomes will be so much lower throughout life, and that girls and women will believe that men are more competent than they are, in numerous social roles. How can it be? It must be the women themselves, they just aren't taking advantage of opportunities open to them.

In all these examples, the common explanations I have offered involve a single theme. It is sometimes called "Blame the Victim" — all are saying it's really women's own fault. "They do it to themselves: we don't stop them."

Recently, however, Rose (1976) has pointed to a different explanation, namely the uses made of social science, in this case, sociology, biometry, and psychology in explanation of certain social phenomena. Taking the excesses of I.Q. measurement as an example, he has demonstrated how these have been used to allegedly "prove" that black people, or poor people have lower mental capacity than white people, and that though you might improve the quality of schooling, it really isn't going to change things. The children of the black poor, will still be just that — the status quo is the way things are always going to be.

In the same way, he argues that research to find innate differences between males and females is being used to avoid real action to bring about equality. He has pointed out that the only properly research-proven innate difference associated with brain function between the sexes is in regard to finger dexterity. There are probably others, but all other research so far is on very questionable ground. His argument is that only when social experience is identical — or nearly so — will real evidence be possible.

At the present time, however, a spate of works — ethological ones about man the hunter, woman the gatherer and child nurturer, or pseudo-scientific, about spatial ability and numbers of engineers, etc. — have been purveying a message, similar to that in the I.Q. race argument. It is the same argument, really, as "blame the victim" but more rationally appealing. "Yes, it's true that girls might absorb a different message from the 'hidden curriculum' of the school but, if we were to go to all that trouble to alter that, we wouldn't change anything, you know, because girls are still less scientific, more emotional, etc. or whatever. They are born that way . . ."

Working as I have been on a set of recommendations to be presented to Victorian authorities, I am very conscious of this argument. There is a constant query, always from people with vested interests in the current status quo, both men and women, about the wisdom of any change, its likely success or failure, whether women want it. On this issue, I feel I can only comment that when we have done all we can that will produce equal outcomes in life for girls as well as boys, then we will really know what the differences between the sexes are.

Sex, at conception, is an accident. It is not an excuse for inequality through life. Medical developments and technology offer the means to a more democratic arrangement. Schools have much to do with producing a community willing and able to make such arrangements work. Some suggestions follow for activities which schools could undertake.

Recently the Schools Commission published a report on girls' education and I believe it is regrettable that the policy of issuing reports, free, to all schools was not followed in this case. The report has to be purchased independently, and as a result very few primary and secondary schools have investigated and discussed its findings. It is essential that in-service and other activities are directed to this end.

As I have demonstrated, it is difficult for teachers to collect and present up-to-date information about the participation of males and females in all areas of our society. Each state education authority should accept responsibility for the collation of such curriculum data, and make it available to teachers to use in all subject areas, whenever it is most appropriate. New texts and new curricula are not immediately required and teachers can often use the sex-bias of older materials to good effect for discussion and teaching.

Finally, it is time that girls and boys from primary school upwards were confronted with real men and women who can talk about the problems, disadvantages and/or happiness of life as single parents, women in leadership roles, and men and women in non-traditional occupations as well as more traditional ones. Teachers should not seek to hide the implications of inequality from their pupils.

To conclude then, I have made three generalisations about the community in education. I have first argued that within the Australian community there are outdated and dysfunctional assumptions about the life and role of women.

Secondly, that the function of the school should be to hold a mirror to society so that boys *and* girls can be made more aware of what has happened in society at large. Only in this way, can the needs and welfare of the community be served in the education of its young.

Thirdly, I have argued for the adequate representation of the community in education at the top as well as the bottom. Women's lives have been disrupted by technology and development, men have not experienced this recent wave of social change to the same extent. I believe men in leadership roles in education have a responsibility to understand what has happened to women and to familiarise themselves with their problems; to act and not resist change in these areas. If the political system so beloved of our community is to survive as more than a hollow sham, there must be more evidence of democratic sharing by *both* sexes of decision-making about the education of both our male *and* our female children.

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THE COMMUNITY SCHOOL CONCEPT IN AUSTRALIA

J. D. BAMBACH

The need is becoming apparent for a critical examination of the community school concept in Australia, because of a lack of clarity and specificity in regard to the use of the term "community school". The paper demonstrates something of the variety of usage from place to place and state to state around Australia, but indicates also the presence of certain common conceptual themes. The latter part of the paper is devoted to a brief attempt to develop a theory of "service accountability" that would give purpose and direction to a community school, no matter what variant it represented.

The Problem

A plethora of educational slogans has appeared during the past decade or so in Australia. Some, like "open education", "community school", and more recently "community education", have become, for many educators, warm, reassuring rallying symbols, with a variety of often bewildering applications. It has been left to individuals to respond in terms of their own idiosyncratic "definitions". The result has been a lack of clarity and specificity that has made meaningful, significant communication virtually impossible.

Harris has underlined the problem in a recent article, "Community School: Pipedream or Reality?" He has drawn attention to a number of variants being labelled as "community" schools, and to different uses from place to place and state to state around Australia, and has concluded that an "exact definition of the term 'community school' is not easy".[1] White has gone further and argued that problems of definition are virtually inevitable since "each community has its own distinctive community with its own peculiar needs and interests".[2]

Both in Australia and overseas there has been a spate of publications that have been almost exclusively descriptive, frequently promotional, sometimes even practical, but very rarely definitive, analytical or theoretical. Yet, without a clearer understanding of the theory upon which the community school concept is based, it is impossible to evaluate it justly.

A related problem that confronts anyone seeking to enquire into the development of the community school concept in Australia, is the blurring and confusion of the key ideas and attitudes of educational movements, such as the "open education", "free school", "progressive education" (or neo-progressive education"), "community education", and "deschooling" movements. Since these movements seem to share ideas such as "relevance", "freedom", "openness", and "involvement", it is not uncommon to hear people use as more or less synonymous the terms "open school", "free school", "progressive school", "alternative school" and "community school".

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[1] H. T. B. Harris. "Community School: Pipedream or Reality?" in *Current Affairs* Bulletin, 50 (10), 1974, p. 19.

[2] White: "Community Schools in England and Wales". In *South Australian Teachers' Journal*. Sept. 11, 1974, p. 16.

Australian Usage

One of the earliest uses of the term "community school" in Australia was as a name for the Tasmanian Education Department's G. V. Brooks Community School that opened in Launceston in 1948. Whitford, the Headmaster, writing of the school five years after its opening, described it as: a "Community centre"; a "miniature community"; and as a school offering training for community living "through practice in actual living experience provided by the school community". It was hoped that the school would be able to identify with the community of the neighbourhood area, and eventually to be open "seven days and seven nights of the week for the benefit of young and old alike".[3]

Similar views of "community school" are still represented, some thirty years later, in current Australian usage.

Gilding in a recent discussion of the Australian Schools Commission Study on school and community referred to a number of important school and community interactions: (1) the use by schools of the community's resources (and what he labelled loosely "the community") as a learning environment; (2) the introduction of people and information from the community into the activities within the school; (3) the provision by schools of services "beyond those traditionally considered their role" (the most extensive in Australia being the offering of after-school and holiday programmes of a recreational nature); (4) the use of school facilities by the community; and (5) the "community within schools" (raising issues of decision-making structures, "power and authority" balances, and so on) which has important implications for a school's relation to the "outside community" as well as to the way it operates. He used the term "community school" within the context of these interactions.[4]

Tickell in a 1973 article on the Swinburne Community School (a government annexe secondary technical school), in Melbourne, where he is the co-ordinator, selects the areas of: resources, community action, school government, curriculum, home and school, for a discussion of that school and of his personal views on the "community school". He argues that the community school: (1) aims at a more efficient utilisation of the community's valuable resources (such a process involves two-way usage, the school using existing "community resources": and resources controlled by the school being made available for other groups to share); (2) attempts to re-establish a sense of community, by involving its students in the life of their community; (3) is itself a community, and as such it has to evolve its own system of government; (4) encourages a study of the life of the community and work experience for students; and (5) places emphasis on parent involvement in a variety of ways.[5]

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[3] R. L. Whitford: *"G. V. Brooks Community School, Newnham Hall, Launceston"*. Tasmanian Government Printer, 1953, p. 35.

[4] J. Gilding: "Schools Commission Study on School and Community Discussion Paper". *The Open Book*. Number 5, 1974, p. 4.

[5] G. Tickell: "Small Community: Swinburne Community School", in H. P. Schoenheimer, *"Good Australian Schools and their Communities"*. Clayton, Vic. Wilke, 1973, pp. 48-58.

McLaren has identified four current applications of the term in Australia. The distinctions he makes underline the major problem of the looseness and imprecision of its usage in this country.

The first application is to schools, such as Swinburne Community School, and School Without Walls, Canberra, that "attempt to take the child's education out of the classroom and integrate it in the life of the community. . . ." He sees the underlying princples of such schools as being that "the child learns best by carrying out the activities in which he is most interested in the places which are best suited to those activities".[6]

A second use of the term in this country is in describing "schools that have been deliberately designed to respond to the needs of the community . . .",[7] by offering courses for people of all ages, not just for those of legal school age, and also providing a social centre that offers facilities such as a library and a hall for various local activities. In some respects, the Australian Rural School has served, and continues, in some cases, to serve this function in rural communities, and the Area School (particularly in Tasmania) has attempted to suit its courses to the needs and interests of their local communities.

An Australia-wide study tour, undertaken by me in 1976 as part of my doctoral research,[8] revealed a developing interest in the provision of schools that will respond to community needs. Schools such as Huntingdale Technical School in Melbourne and Rosny College in Hobart offer a number of opportunities for people of all ages to participate in a range of educational programmes, and they employ community education co-ordinators to liaise with the wider community and provide appropriate courses, etc.[9] Education centres. such as those planned for Angle Park in South Australia and Minto in New South Wales, will, it is hoped, expand this concept further.

Thirdly, the term "community school" is used loosely to refer to a number of recently-opened "private progressive schools", which McLaren claims are "now also operating on the principle of community schools". He does not specify to which schools this claim refers, but it seems likely that he had in mind schools such as Preshil and E.R.A. in Victoria, to which, rightly or wrongly, the community school label has been applied, and the three Lance Holt Schools (now three autonomous schools) in Western Australia.

In the Northern Territory, a fourth use of the term is to be found. It is used, as it is in parts of the United States of America, as the "generic term" for schools that seek to provide education facilities for children from *all* groups in the community. The Northern Territory schools, administered by the Commonwealth Department, are described by this term, possible largely to indicate their inclusion of a considerable number of Aborigines and their service to the entire community.

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[6] J. McLaren: *A Dictionary of Australian Education*. Ringwood, Victoria, Penguin Books, 1974, p. 65.

[7] Ibid, p. 65.

[8] J. D. Bambach: "The Development of the Community School Concept in Australia". Ph.D. research, Murdoch University, Perth.

[9] Refer to interviews with S. Webster, Co-ordinator of Community programmes, Huntingdale Technical School, S. Oakleigh, Victoria, 7th May, 1976 and G. Batten, Co-ordinator of Community and General Studies, Rosny College, Rosny, Tasmania, 17th May, 1976. Available on tape from author.

McLaren did not take account of other groups of Australian schools that have been referred to as "community" schools. These include many schools visited during my 1976 study tour, such as the intentionally very small, largely parent-initiated and (initially at any rate) *home*-based Coonara Children's Community School in Upper Ferntree Gully, Victoria, and the Blue Mountains Community School in Springwood, New South Wales. There are also schools such as Collingwood Community School in Melbourne, and South East Corner School in Adelaide that were designed to meet the very specific needs of certain groups in the community (e.g., of those from an economically-deprived group in the city).

One of the latest (1976) and most interesting "community school" projects, one that reflects a return to the principle that local neighbourhood groups should be responsible for educating their own children, is that to be found in the small Yanchep Sun City settlement, in Western Australia. Yanchep residents have been engaged in raising funds for the Yanchep Community School, with parents making contributions as they are able (rather than paying fees). A local business organisation has made available accommodation in a shed on the Marina, and many residents have offered their services as "community teachers". Present plans are for the school to be of the kindergarten-through-year 12 variety, and to become part of a broader "community centre" for Sun City residents of all ages.[10] The idea of the project does not appear to be adequately catered for at present by Australian writings on the "community school" concept.

My survey of relevant literature revealed also that for several other Australian schools, particularly those established in the 1970's, the hope has been expressed that eventally they will become a type of "community school". An example is Carine High School (a government school opened in 1973), in a suburb of Perth. The establishment of a "community school" at Carine was, according to Reid, the "ultimate goal" for the school. It would mean that . . . "the school would seek support from and have a responsibility to the community as a whole"; ". . . all in the school would have a sense of belonging to the community and identifying with it"; ". . . the school would seek to be closely integrated with the wider community it was to service, and from which it would draw a number of its resources".[11] Such long-range "community school" plans may be examples of mere bandwagon protestations or slogan justifications for programmes that school leaders wish to see implemented, but it is interesting to observe in such writings, further evidence of certain conceptual themes (e.g., mutual school and community responsibility; identification and integration; mutual use of resources; and the notion of service to the community).

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[10] Interviews with B. Morgan, Director, Yanchep Community School, Yanchep, Western Australia, 13th April and 25th November, 1976. Available on tape from author.

[11] W. J. Reid: "Integrated Studies — Carine High School, 1974". *The Education Circular*, Dec., 1974, p. 358.

The formal expression of the philosophy and aims of Canberra's School Without Walls contains several key school and community slogans. These include: "the school will be involved in the community and the community involved in the school"; there will be "interaction with the community and unique opportunities for participatory democratic government of the school"; the school will create in students and the community as a whole "a mutual understanding and awareness"; and there is a need to take the school "back into the community both metaphorically and physically".[12]

An interesting variant on the community school theme is the Black Community School established two years ago in Townsville, Queensland, by a number of Aboriginal and Islander parents. Among its aims are: to provide an education suited to the needs of black children and other underprivileged children; to involve the children's parents and the community in this education; to encourage the development of pride in the Aboriginal and Torres Strait Island cultures and an appreciation of the value of the national heritage; and to provide a focus around which the black community can operate.[13] This unique Australian "community school" underlines not only the variety of usage of the term, but also the importance of the notion of genuine *service* to a community group or community groups — a notion that is inherent in the community school concept.

Levels of Meaning

There appear to be in the school and community discussion in Australia four major levels of meaning. These may be represented diagramatically (see figure).

The central ring of the circle illustrates one meaning of community — "The School as a Community" — that relates to the internal workings of the school and particularly to the relationships and responsibilities of people within it. The community of the school is characterised by: respect and concern for each individual within the group, the sharing of more less common interests, the acceptance of responsibility by members for each other, and a "sense of belonging". Participation by all involved in the school's life, in a supportive and co-operative atmosphere, is viewed as being essential to the development of genuine involvement in (school) community living. There are dangers, of course, that, despite its good intentions, the school may become introverted, concerned mainly with its own little "school" world.

At a second remove, however, represented by the next outer ring, we see the notion of "the community in the school", e.g., the community's use of the school as a resource and participation of the community in policy-making. Members of the local community are taken into the school, in various ways, insofar as they choose to or have the opportunity (and power) to become involved. Their involvements could range from mere fund-raising to involvement in policy-making (e.g., through School Councils or Boards) and to participation in the teaching-learning process.

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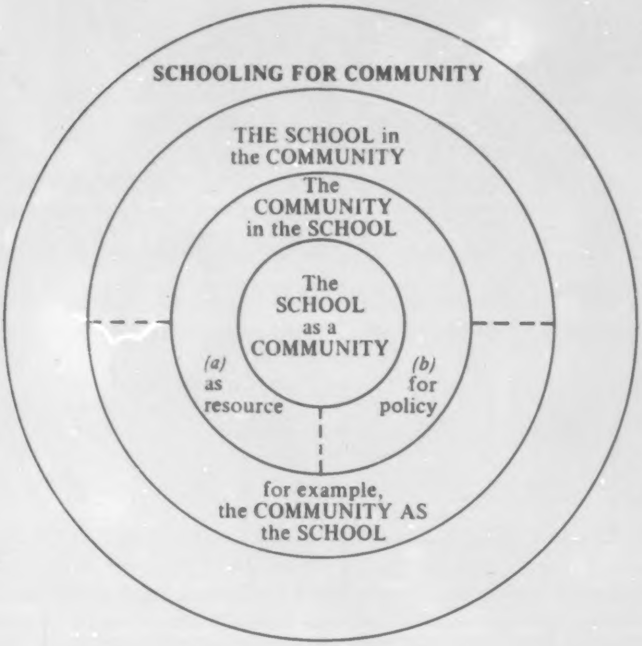
[12] Appendix A. of *Application for a Canberra Community School* (School Without Walls), 1973, p. 1.

[13] E. Mabo: *Black Community School.* Unpublished information paper. Townsville, 1975.

SCHOOL AND COMMUNITY: LEVELS OF MEANING.


SCHOOLING FOR COMMUNITY
THE SCHOOL in the COMMUNITY
The COMMUNITY in the SCHOOL
The SCHOOL as a COMMUNITY
(a) as resource
(b) for policy
for example, the COMMUNITY AS the SCHOOL

The author is indebted to Professor B.V.Hill of Murdoch University for permission to use this diagram.

Enlarging the circle further, the theme of "the school in the community" is highlighted. The school's learners and teachers explore the resources, facilities and living pattern of the larger community. The community school makes use of the community's resources and facilities, and, hopefully, becomes more interested in the community's problems, needs, interests, history, structures, processes, and other aspects of it life, as it meets with people actively engaged in community living.

There is no guarantee, however, of two-way (school and community) involvements (and benefits) developing, since the school may merely take *from* and learn *about* the community, as part of its educational programme, without "putting back" *into* the community to any extent.

The widest circle of understanding is described as "schooling for community". The creation and promotion of a "sense of community" through genuine and practical "service" activity, can be a vital function performed by the "community" school.

Here the community school is concerned with service to its local community (and to the wider society), and "community service", in different forms, is regarded as a natural part of the school's thinking and its programme.

The community school can be something of a unifying force for "community", and a focal point for community living, seeking to establish an organic relationship between itself and its community (or communities). The notion of school as a community is widened, and there becomes ample justification for "the community" being in the school and the school in "the community". School and community merge as a result of a common concern with the education of members of the community and other aspects of their welfare. Such an organising principle as "schooling for community" looms as the key determinant of the community school concept, since it gives meaning to all levels of discussion.

There would seem to be seven main areas in which to seek to identify a community school, all of which grow out of the above discussion. These areas suggest seven community school "characteristics" that could be applied to a particular school being studied (see table). Since most, if not all schools probably could lay claim to possessing these, in some form and to some extent, greater specificity (i.e., to clarify degrees of commitment) is essential.[14]

IDENTIFICATION OF A COMMUNITY SCHOOL

Suggestions for Study

AREA OF STUDY	CHARACTERISTIC. (To what extent is this the case?)
The School group	The school itself is a "community".
Community use of school resources	The school is a major community resource.
School use of community resources	The community is a major school resource.
Decision-making procedures	The school is "democratic" in its decision-making procedures.
School and home co-operation in the educational process	The school and home are educational partners.
Curriculum orientation	The community is a major curriculum focus.
Community service	The school is a "serving" community.

Community Service

The view that education should produce people capable of improving life and man's estate, and should result in social progress, forms the basis for a common "community education" argument that "education is a consciously used instrument for social progress, and should meet the needs of youth and adults alike".[15]

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[14] The writer is presently engaged in clarifying the community school concept in this way as part of his doctoral research.

[15] R. A. Naslund: "The Impact of the Power Age on the Community School Concept". *The Community School.* 52nd Yearbook of the N.S.S.E., Chicago. University of Chicago Press, 1953, p. 31.

The belief has been expressed recently by Ball that:

> "The true community school should not just provide an education for the whole community, it must provide a whole range of services for the community, services based on truly relevant and practical education."[16]

The recognition of the community service role of the school is not new, though it has been neglected all too often. Naslund gives a succinct summary of the recognition of this aspect of the community school concept from the times of earlier world civilisations up to the early twentieth century.

"From the Greeks and Romans has come an insistence that education should result in social progress rather than stress intellectualism. Luther and Bacon demanded an education which would produce a people capable of improving life and man's estate. Barnard emphasised the moral and economic obligations of the school. Fellenberg and Grundtvig established schools which implemented their beliefs in the role of the school in social reconstruction. To these earlier statements Dewey, Hart and King add the concept of the school as a society, recognise the fact that the school must seek the co-operation of the other community agencies . . ."[17]

"Service" to the community, as part of a school's education programme, can take many forms. One form is in activities, within a "community service" programme that seek to involve participants in projects that will improve living for a variety of needy groups and individuals in the community. Most of these activities (including "courses") are initiated by the school, though some are suggested and organised by outside agencies that themselves seek to meet particular needs of the aged, the infirm, the poor and others. The programme can include a variety of group projects, such as: providing practical help to those who are physically handicapped through age or sickness; child-minding; making aids for the disabled; "meal-on-wheels" assistance; anti-pollution drives; offering companionship to and providing entertainment for the elderly, lonely, chronically ill, prisoners, and others; building playgrounds for young children; and so on. Such service activities benefit many in the community by providing relief, comfort, support, and entertainment, but also develop in the young students skills and attitudes that could well lead to successful attempts at the betterment of community living on a continuing basis. They should arise naturally as an integral part of the school's life and programme, to be real and meaningful to students.

Programmes such as these are based on the premise that the community school approach has power, eventually, to help solve many pressing social problems. The school can make this contribution in addition to providing a high level of intellectual growth and development for its members.

It would be folly to claim that the community school can solve in the short or long term, all of the academic and social problems of people. However, it is maintained here that the community school can and should accept a large measure of leadership for helping people to solve their academic, cultural, recreational, economic, vocational, health, civic and social problems. It is argued also that few Australian schools presently offer programmes of sufficient quality and comprehensiveness, designed to serve the community/ies beyond them.

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[16] C. and M. Ball: *Education for a Change: Community Action and the School*. Harmondsworth, Middlesex. Penguin, 1973, p. 12.

[17] *Op. cit.*, p. 31.

Accountability

The idea of educational accountability, not a new one, has become increasingly popular in recent years as more and more attention has been paid to what is going on in schools, and community involvement in education has become increasingly accepted.

Von Haden and King have maintained that, since about 1970, "accountability has become one of the most discussed topics in education". They believe that the current attention is overdue, since ". . . those entrusted with a responsibility as costly, vital, and far-reaching as education, must possess an abiding sense of responsibility and should welcome all fair and sincere approaches to holding them accountable for their trusteeship, their performance, and the performance of their students. They have argued that:

> "Without education civilisation cannot move forward, and without accountability, education will wither."[18]

The Australian Schools Commission Triennium Report for 1976-1978 highlights in its second chapter, this developing relationship between school and community in Australian society. It points to several factors that lie behind the trend.

"As people become conscious of the uncertainties and conflicts concerning the functions and values of schooling, they may seek to play a greater part in the resolution of these problems. At the same time, a general trend towards participation and away from acceptance of remove control must inevitably affect the relationship of the school to the community it serves."[19]

Educational accountability attempts to relate input into the educational enterprise to output, in terms of students' knowledge, attitudes and manner of thinking, values, actions and so on. Educators are held accountable for the appropriateness of goals and objectives which they select, as well as for success in producing satisfactory results. Questions arise immediately, such as: Who exactly should be held accountable and to whom?; What should schools be doing?; How should they be evaluated?; What exactly constitutes "unsatisfactory results?"; What can and should be done if a school's accomplishment is found to be "unsatisfactory"? These questions apply to "community schools", as they do to schools with other orientations.

Lewis, writing about Huntingdale Technical School in Victoria, pointed to ways in which such questions could be and are being tackled there, and the ideas underlying what they are doing. He stated that their ". . . broad view of education is that the school should be returned to its community, should become part of and not apart from, the community which it serves". An implication of such an ideal is that "the community should decide how the school can best serve it".[20]

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[18] H. Von Haden and J. M. King: *Educational Innovator's Guide*. Worthington, Ohio. C. A. Jones, 1974, p. 68.

[19] Australian Schools Commission Report for 1976-78. Canberra, 1976, p. 156.

The Huntingdale Technical School set out in 1972 to aks their community what it wanted of them. Over a hundred people representing a wide range of community leaders, representatives of community groups, industrialists and other interested people, attended an initial meeting in March. They discussed the questions of how Huntingdale Technical School could help "the community" and how "the community" could help Huntingdale Technical School.

A group was formed at the meeting to act as a community "conscience" for the school. The group, known as the Community Involvement Group (C.I.G.) includes parents, staff, politicians, churchmen, businessmen, migrant and youth representatives, educationists, and other interested people, and is able to make a wide variety of contacts within the community.

"Service Accountability"

Basic to the idea of a community school is the belief that the life of the (local and wider) community is the proper concern of the school, and that it should include as significant components in its total educational programme, teaching and learning activities that are related to the problems, needs, interests, service and improvement of living of the community. The school is accountable to the community, and the quality of living in the community should improve because of the presence of the school which the community supports. Such a vision of "service" accountability gives purpose and direction to a community school, no matter what variant it represents.

The premise that man is made for community, that he finds his fulfilment in community with others, for whom he accepts a responsibility, leads logically to the argument that from childhood, people, to realise this vital aspect of their humanity, should, in an atmosphere of mutual respect, interest and co-operation, become partners in serving one another. The community school can do much to help young and old, not only discover community needs and problems, but also to learn to analyse them, explore and formulate possible solutions to them and to apply the results in practical service, to the end that community living may be improved.

The Community School: A Positive Role in Community Education

Writing of the community school approach in America, Morgan has stressed that the community school is "more than just a school", that —

> ". . . it is a resource centre for all the community it serves. As such it must be planned co-operatively with other agencies and interest groups who are dedicated to the development of both the individual and the community . . . 'Education belongs to the people' is the axiom on which community schools are built, and its corollary is that local resources can be harnessed to identify and provide for community needs . . ."[21]

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[20] L. Lewis: "No Break of Gauge". In H. P. Schoenheimer, *op. cit.*, p. 23.

[21] P. J. Morgan: "The Community School Approach". *National Elementary Principal*, 52, 1, September, 1972, p. 30.

The same thinking is in evidence in much current Australian discussion concerning community education.

The school itself should be expected to play a key role in the community education process in Australia. The school building may have to be modified to provide special "community units", as needed, as is planned for some existing schools in most Australian States; or it may become a multipurpose school open to all, as is the case with the Rosny College in Tasmania and Minto Community Education Centre in N.S.W.; or the school may be viewed as being "in the city", and consist of sereval halls of learning, learning centres and other city facilities, as with the Beare plan (for Darwin Newtown); or it may be related part or the nucleus of the community centre, with both the school and the centre planned for alternative and simultaneous use, exemplified by the Parks Community Centre in South Australia.

Though variously interpreted, in these ways, the community school must be regarded as a major instrument of community education, not just a building to which some people may come and which they occasionally may use. It should be a focal point of community living and a base from which educational (in the broadest sense) activities of its community are encouraged and co-ordinated.

The Challenge

Scheffler has argued that "slogans in education provide rallying symbols of the key ideas and attitudes of educational movements", and, therefore, criticisms of inadequacy or inaccuracy directed at slogans are "idle".[22] (Slogans do not imply their specifics.) In many ways "community school" has become a slogan in Scheffler's terms. Is it therefore a useless exercise to try to pin down the community school concept?

There is cause for some optimism. As demonstrated in this paper, certain distinct strands and layers of meaning seem to be emerging, and there are indications that there are sufficient specific meanings in the words "community" and "school" to make it possible to pin down the term and concept.

It is clear that the task of identifying these specifics is a challenging one. It is also an *urgent* one for the practitioners and theorists who require more than the many vague generalities that they hear so often, if the ideas behind the community school are to become meaningful to them, in terms of educational proposals and programmes, and if the label "community school" is to be more widely and more fully comprehended, and is to be applied to schools more appropriately.

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[22] I. Scheffler: *The Language of Education*. Springfield, Illinois. C. Thomas, 1971, p. 36.

COMMUNITY EDUCATION — A RED HERRING

R. H. MORGAN

Community Education is new.

Community Education is not given enough attention.

Community Education requires the attention of teachers, parents, students, governments, individuals, pressure groups, journalists, friendly neighbours, learned bodies, committees, church systems, governing bodies, the learned and the ignorant, the professional and the amateur.

Community Education is the most important single issue in Australia today.

Community Education should be thought about, talked about and written about at every level of society and funded by the taxpayer.

Community Education has to provide compensation for all the evils of past schooling such as the discrimination of traditional forms of education against minority groups.

Community Education has to open up opportunities to everyone from every walk of life, of every ability, of every personal standard and it can no longer be left in the hands of trained, experienced teachers who have controlled educational thought and processes for as long as formal education has existed.

Community Education must embrace folk education. We cannot leave education to teachers and must include everyone in the process.

Community Education means that schools should no longer exist as they do, as places where literacy and numeracy are regarded as basic requirements for adulthood.

Community Education must remove such injustices as teaching discipline to children whereby they can go about their lives having consideration for others and control of their own selfishness and ambitions.

Community Education means that schools should be a mirror of society and no matter what trends occur in society at large schools must be made to follow them and prepare children for an acceptance of what they find in society.

Community Education means freedom and liberation from the fetters of tradition.

Community Education means that kids should do only what they like doing and not what other people think they ought to do.

Community Education is the only valid form of education today and all other forms must be eliminated.

Community Education means that the world exists only for the pleasure and leisure of the individual and anyone trying to restrict that pleasure or leisure or to make him responsible for anyone else or for his own actions and their consequences is an evil tyrant who must be eliminated from the scene.

The above statements seem to be claimed as true if one reads from the mass of reports, papers, articles and discussions which have taken place recently about Community Education. They are statements which suggest a revolution in education, newly discovered and thoughtfully and responsibly brought to our attention as a panacea for all our problems.

But I believe they are all red herrings being drawn across the trail of what we should really be considering in education today. I believe that because in recent years we have become used to discussing what have been regarded as major issues in education and most of us emerge from conferences and seminars on such problems more perplexed and concerned than we went into them, less certain of our ground, more despairing of the mess we appear to have made of education in Australia. We are simply, like drowning men, clutching at any straw which passes by or which falls from some dead tree into the water, we still have to have something to talk about and to solve our uneasy consciences and have something, no matter what, to report back to what we fondly imagine is an eagerly awaiting world, about what we have discovered and the pontifications we are then in a position to make.

The most important question anyone has to answer before even embarking on the preparation of a paper of this kind is, "What does the topic mean?" It is also the most difficult question to answer because Community Education means, quite obviously, as many things as there are people to try to say what it means. One early point of reference for me was the green sheet published in our College Journal *Unicorn* which set out to define Community Education. The author then proceeded to state a definition not of education but of Community Schools and it seems to me that Community Schools represent a very small part of what we mean by Community Education. That definition was:

> "Community schools are those where there is an active involvement of the community in the affairs of the school and of the school in the life of the community. These schools are marked by the assumptions that since education is a continuum extending below and beyond the years of formal schooling, the functions of the schools should be expanded to cater for a wider clientele. They also recognise a need for community participation in the planning of the total programme."

The very term Community Education is a nonsense because when we talk about education, and I shall certainly avoid the perennial trap of trying to define education, we realise that education cannot exist without the community. It must mean the education of someone, indeed education surely means the education of everyone and everyone is the Community. So you cannot really have education without the community for without the community there would be neither the requirement nor the competence for

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education to exist at all. So if I reject the above definition as being insufficiently comprehensive I must try to identify what appear to be the other elements of Community Education of which Community Schools are only one. It seems to me that we are talking about education of the community, by the community, for the community, because of the community and in spite of the community. Indeed, Community Education can be used as a term to cover a large number of things, both good and evil.

If we take it to mean the education of people other than those formally enrolled at schools or universities then that is education of the community in a way which has existed for a very long time. For years we have had available to anyone a vast number of courses in schools, universities, technical colleges and other organisations which exist to give access to mature adults to the facilities of education for leisure, for adding to their qualifications, for widening their horizons. To me this is a very important form of Community Education. On the one hand it exists because people now use few of their waking hours working and some need to fulfil themselves by learning new or different skills they have not had the time to develop during their own period of formal schooling and on the other hand some take such courses to fill the gaps left either by an inadequate system of formal education through which they have passed or an inadequate capacity or will on their own part to pay attention to their studies, or simply their laudable desire to learn more. Such a system has been with us for a long time, fills a need in the community and serves to make more productive use of personnel and material resources otherwise lying idle for much of the time. In an ever-increasingly complex and technological society it is proper and desirable for anyone who wants to, to have access to any course of study, to follow an interest, to pursue a hobby which will give a greater measure of satisfaction in the ever-increasing duration of leisure-time which increases as productivity declines and man's goal seems to be more play and less work. Since I do not discern any influence at work in society conducive to a change in this attitude, it can be argued and agreed that forms of educating the community at large are both legitimate and desirable.

If, on the other hand, we take Community Education to mean a new kind of school in which there is a number or even a preponderance of non-teachers there permanently to be involved in the education of the students then we are skating on thin ice. We have spent a great deal of time and money in the past generation ensuring that teachers in schools are qualified and trained people, experts in the craft of teaching. It seems to me then that the wide introduction of the amateur from the community into the teaching process who will perform a task without the training and expertise of the proper classroom teacher will contribute to the deprivation of the very children who need teaching. The children who appear to attend this new kind of school are the very ones who most need to understand that life exists in a framework of discipline and you simply cannot do just what you like. The child who is already infected with an unstructured and undisciplined home life is just the one who needs a more authoritarian and expert approach to his problems of learning. He is much less likely to get this from the odd community member than from a trained teacher. It seems to me that children in such schools already exposed to the laissez-faire community attitude evident in this country will slide even further into the aimless ways of thinking and reacting which so increasingly characterise society today. Whilst it may be smart and fashionable to be anti-intellectual and anti-excellent, the widespread introduction of non-teachers to teach seems to me to be the opposite of what we require and is a Community Education red herring.

I believe it can be argued, too, that teachers themselves, that is to say the good ones (and that in itself brings up another whole range of problems about teacher preparation and criteria of suitability for the profession) teachers themselves are, of course, in their own right members of the community. The claimed need to bring outsiders into schools implies that teachers are some kind of non-members of the community. They are in fact human beings, they are workers, they are taxpayers, they are voters, they play football, they watch television, they go shopping, they are parents; they do everything any other person does and from this they gain the same experience and knowledge of how to live in society as does anyone else and yet there are proposals that all kinds of other people ought to be permanently employed in the school campus to influence pupils in savoir faire. An extreme of this proposal is touched upon by a paper on the concept of linking the school with the neighbourhood it serves in such a way that you must have black teaching black and poor teaching poor and so on. I have marked the margin of my copy "and the blind leading the blind" because it seems that such a system would only perpetuate the very inequalities in society which fashionable modern thinkers claim to exist.

On the other hand most traditional schools already bring in members of the non-teaching community representing many specific areas of expertise other than teaching to supplement the experiences of the students and the teachers. This practice has been common for a very long time and to suggest it as something new or lacking in existing schools is another red herring.

Do we mean by Community Education schools where teachers, parents and pupils combine to decide policy equally and democratically? There are such schools and we are led to believe by their promoters that there is no way a school can operate unless it has the influence of these three groups of people. First I think that the argument about expertise has to be used again: that the trained expert is obviously in a position to know better what is required in education. Similarly, parents are concerned with the education of their children at home and do not generally possess the expertise to advise on curriculum, policy or much else. The pupils themselves cannot possibly have acquired the experience and wisdom to be able to judge for themselves what they need from education. Certainly they can say what they want and frequently do but what they need cannot be decided by the immature mind. It is clear to me that there is no substitute for wisdom and experience and there are few schoolchildren who possess them. Thus schools which operate along these lines of total involvement of parents, teachers and pupils as a grand democratic co-operative venture in school policy and philosophy are plainly looking at the world through rose-coloured glasses and failing to face up to the real practicalities and responsibilities of the situation.

Once again, though, so-called traditional schools do in fact involve parents in a number of restricted ways for the benefit of the school and the children in it. It can be argued that parents have a right to say what their children shall learn and in what way they shall be educated. In the public sector those parents are paying as taxpayers for the education their children receive and they also have the right to elect the governments which control the education system and are therefore being democratically served. In the independent schools (that group of educational establishments which is not diminishing as rapidly as some would think and others might wish) the parents pay directly and twice for education and have therefore an even greater claim to a right to influence the form and nature of the education their children receive. And again the structure already exists for them to do so in such schools and to suggest this as a new idea is another red herring of Community Education.

Do we mean by Community Education those schools where the pupils themselves go out into the community to widen their experience? Once again there are papers written and speeches made as if this were a great new Eurekan discovery. Schools have been doing this kind of thing for years. It may be that the frequency and range of such activities has increased in recent times simply because of the facility of modern technology making such physical disposition more convenient, but it is certainly nothing new. The extreme of this concept, Dr. Hedley Beare's proposal, that all schools should send their pupils wandering about the town all day to gain their education is a mighty red herring. Do we mean by Community Education schools such as have been proposed for the state of New South Wales where each school would have a board of control representative of as wide a range of the community as possible in order to influence its outcomes in terms of what the community really wants? On this matter, but not on many others, I agree with that state's Teachers' Federation which has spoken against such a system whereby the butcher, the baker and the candlestick maker can hire and fire the teachers and tell them what to teach. In fact, the independent schools have governing bodies frequently drawn from interested members of the community who have something to offer, or certainly themselves think they have. Many of these governing bodies have effectively controlled the destiny of such schools for a very long time although there are some weaknesses becoming apparent in some of them. This is mainly because where a school governing body consists chiefly of dear old friends of the school or a preponderance of superannuated clergymen, the case in some church schools. Such bodies stagnate in terms of policy and often know little about running a major financial business. School councils should not, in my view, contain educationists; such policy should be in the hands of the paid experts on the school staff. Therein lies the success, if anyone judges it so to be, of my schools. Running an independent school today is more and more a matter of business administration and financial management and it is people expert in those fields that one needs on a council, and the fewer in total, the better.

It is also argued that there is a gap between what goes on in schools and what the employment community requires in terms of occupational outcome of education and we are told that this justifies the inclusion of employers as such in school policy-making. Certainly the world is changing rapidly through technological advances which affect the industrial and commercial fields but employers today are not really crying out for highly trained school products ready for the advanced technologies of their particular industries, as we are being led to believe. Employers are quite content to carry out their own programmes of specialist education of the worker in whatever field it might be. What has happened is that the product of today's primary and secondary schools is often a dilution of what he was some years ago. This has come about because of the dilution in content and intensity of what we actually teach at schools and we are producing, employers tell us, a less numerate, a less literate product, less capable of self-discipline than he used to be. What employers want today is what they have always wanted: people who can read and write and calculate, understand simple procedures of discipline essential for the smooth operation of any enterprise, who can maintain simple standards of acceptable behaviour and appearance. And the ranks of school leavers in those categories get proportionately smaller as we allow schools to become freer and more open. Thus the only gap really existing between education in schools and the outcomes expected by the employing community is what has resulted from the emancipation of students by teachers from what they are supposed to have learned. It seems then that Community Education seen as the involvement of the community in policy-making is another red herring.

If we mean by Community Education the use of schools and their material resources by other people after they close down then there appears to be much sense in that. Schools close down following their traditional day of six or seven hours, sometimes five days a week for about forty weeks of the year, and for which formula there seems to be little justification. But imagine the reaction of teachers' industrial bodies if one suggested a longer school day and more weeks in the school year despite the obvious improvements in education which would occur, not to mention the reduction of the thousands of hours each year we are kept at our wits end keeping young people occupied when they are not at school. I have advocated for some time that school plant could be far more extensively used than it is. Of all the buildings in the community it seems that only the churches are used less and represent a greater indolence of capital investment in land and buildings, except perhaps in those surviving examples of really inspiring architecture, also diminishing in an era when even the churches are throwing up their hands in despair and trying to "get with it" by adding to the concrete jungle. Recent governments could have saved a fortune of this nation's resources if they had introduced programmes of supporting shift work in schools rather than funding the proliferation of school buildings now on the scene and if the prognostications about population growth in this country are correct, will be lying idle in a few years' time. We could have twice as many personnel using the buildings and facilities we have if schools operated twice a day instead of once and if school weekends and holidays were staggered. Such a scheme would effect a great saving in the nation's resources. But again, this form of Community Education already exists to a small extent and we are making some attempt to use school facilities for the betterment of everyone. Thus to suggest that all schools are not being properly used is another red herring.

Do we mean by Community Education the moving of teachers themselves into fields other than teaching? This has, I believe, far greater merit than interminable in-service courses during what ought to be teaching time. Whenever a teacher goes off to an in-service course during the school week the pupils suffer from a relief teacher or no teacher at all and the teacher re-learns something he already knows or exhausts his mind such as we are doing by discussing issues we cannot really resolve.

What is of far greater significance is to have a teacher who has himself experienced more than the classroom. As I observe some of my colleagues, both teachers and administrators of schools, I am constantly reminded of the adage that schoolmasters are boys among men. Too many of them have been nowhere except in the school they attended as children, then university or training college, then straight back into the classroom. They have not had the worldly experience of hardship and responsibility which comes of doing something difficult or running a business in the competitive world we live in. It is this kind of experience which would be invaluable for all teachers and an aspect of Community Education which might be given far more consideration than it is. And by other kinds of experience I do not mean joining the bearded young tramps who set off on an excursion flight to Europe to bludge their way around the world with an Australian flag sewn onto their rucksacks. I believe the teacher has to be far more than simply the trained specialist, the bespoke craftsman, there to execute to perfection the philosophical ideals and taste and discretion of the mere community which pays his salary.

If most of the matters I have mentioned are regarded as the red herrings of the Community Education issue, what then are the other issues which Community Education clouds?

If we allow Community Education to mean folk education: a kind of comfortable, informal, easy-going, unstructured, free-for-all commune-type of gathering together in a situation where parent, pupil and teacher are regarded as equals in every way we end up with no more than a folksy campfire situation. Such situations are very pleasant and desirable and may even be useful but where they replace the very serious business of teaching young people what they need to know for the life that lies before them, then we are certainly drawing yet another red herring across the trail of the real issues we ought to be solving.

The emergence in recent times of Community Education as an issue, as a problem, as a priority at all has provided a very convenient vehicle for narrow and specific minorities in the community to have a vastly inflated and over-rated voice in society's thinking as well as even greater access to the media where so much public opinion is made on issues invented for the purpose of making opinion. We have seen the examples recently of groups such as women in general, aborigines, migrants, socially and academically disadvantaged children, the poor, the unemployed and so on being given a large voice in the nation's affairs. It is most proper and our bounden duty and responsibility to see that all genuine groups of people are properly cared for and given proper opportunities for a satisfying and useful life in the community, no one would argue against that, but what has happened is that the issues affecting them have been blown out of all proportion so that you get the range of statements such as those with which I began this paper. The proponents of the case for the chip-on-the-shoulder groups seem to believe fervently that they are the only ones worthy of the community's attention and that they are constantly and totally being discriminated against by society. This is simply not the case.

The issue-makers are intent on following one or another line of attack just to keep themselves before the public. Anyone would think, for example, that humanity treated women as slaves if you read some of the statements being peddled by women's action groups. In reality, the western civilisation to which we belong has for a very long time held the female of the species in high regard and the opinions being bandied about do not in fact reflect the view of more than a few vocal and only vaguely feminine deviates who masquerade as the champions of womanhood. The same can be said for many other touchy groups in society.

And, of course, the whole question of who really is disadvantaged in society is one about which a good deal of deception is taking place. Economically, amongst the most disadvantaged groups in the community at the moment are those in private enterprise who have hitherto contributed the most to the development of the nation both through their direct activities and their taxation payments through which all welfare programmes are financed and who, as a group, give the greatest opportunity for employment. A socialist regime does not clearly understand that all kinds of people at all kinds of level are essential for the smooth running of a free enterprise community such as ours. The clear answer to our present economic difficulties, which neither the late nor the present government seems to understand, is the inducement of private enterprise to get the wheels of productivity turning again which then leads to a better standard of living for everyone from the factory floor to the board room. If we could solve this one economic problem then most of the problems of the unemployed, the women, the migrants and all the rest would be solved by the very prosperity and confidence of the nation.

It seems to me that the current polarisation of opinion on education itself, that is to say the two extreme views which could be stated as the traditional/conservative/prescriptive approach and the reactionary/progressive/open approach are these two poles. My belief is that in a free society which we purport to have established and to be maintaining we should allow the individual to have a free choice about these matters. Any parent should be able to choose whether he wants the prescriptive or the open approach to education for his children. Having made the decision he must then abide by whatever the experts in education controlling the philosophy of either choice propose.

Over the past two decades or so we have all seen and been involved in the watering-down of education in terms of discipline, order, prescription, direction and specific teaching of basic skills. We have ploughed our way through the whole gamut of new ideas such as the open classroom, team teaching, activity method, equality of opportunity, comprehensive schools, tertiary education as a birthright, and so on. And in most countries where all these things have been tried, and in some ways it is fortunate that we in Australia are usually some years behind the rest of the world, they have failed in the basic aims. The world has never been so unhappy a place; the dilution of authoritarian control of nations and people, under the guise of liberation of the oppressed, has allowed far greater carnage and destruction than ever occurred before. The products of our schools and tertiary institutions seem to think that life is to be lived without responsibility, without care for anyone else, without sensitivity towards the feelings of others. Our fascination for giving the best possible education and facilities to those who have little ability has diverted our attention from those who have and who should also be nurtured to use their greater talents for the betterment of mankind. Hard work has become a dirty word; dedication is regarded as an effete quality; real scholarship is thought to be unnecessary; anti-intellectualism is fashionable; standards of self-discipline have deteriorated; everyone wants more privilege and less responsibility. And it is the intrusion of the non-expert, the community, into specialised fields like education which has led to this deterioration in educational outcomes.

When I began my schools there were very few people who regarded the precepts for which I stood as being relevant or important. This number has, however, increased over the years with the realisation that easy-going forms of education are not really contributing to society. I was regarded as a traditional, conservative in an ivory tower, head in sand, regressive, oppressive, authoritarian, right-wing, anachronistic. Today, I venture to say, the so-called great debate about education and the subsequent polarisation of opinion has led to a large and growing number of parents, of teachers and, when the chips are down, of school students, coming to the realisation that there is much virtue and merit in the so-called old-fashioned system of scholarship, hard work, subject definitions, frameworks of discipline and the stability and security they give. For this reason more and more people are supporting either those schools which resist fanatical pressure groups of the market place or are advocating a return to more prescriptive forms of education.

This is why I say that Community Education is a red herring. I have agreed that much of what it is about should be done and, indeed, in my schools and many like them it is being done with the control and moderation such ideas need to make them effective but the real issues of accepting that children need direction and guidance from mature teachers who understand that they are in fact there to teach, to force-feed if necessary, skills and techniques and knowledge to them, at least in their early years are the challenges which are not being generally taken up. We should be spending the nation's resources, not upon groups of malcontents who want to publish papers about their grievances and deviate notions but upon the training of teachers who can teach and the provision of schools which concentrate on the real stuff of education. Rather than airy-fairy notions of learning by divine inspiration and indulging in selfish anti-social behaviour we need a clear return to the basic concepts of literacy and numeracy, self-discipline, unselfishness, pastoral care, hard work, pride in accomplishment, reward for effort, dedication to task, taste and judgement, appreciation of beauty and form, leadership, compassion and disinterested service to the community.

As Kemp and others have pointed out, educational development depends not upon equality of outcomes fostered by massive injections of spending on schools and universities and community facilities but largely upon hereditary and environmental characteristics and socio-economic background. What has been demonstrated by observers of the American and British systems of political spending on education in past decades is that the rise of the meritocracy has been hastened together with the decline of the less able. It has been shown that in most societies the lower socio-economic groups have the lower innate ability and perpetuate a lower standard of work, of environment, of achievement and of aspiration and the higher socio-economic groups continue to have a higher innate ability and perpetuate a higher standard of work, environment, achievement and aspiration and that all groups in this free and natural interplay are perfectly happy in their various levels. What the new leftist politicians and philosophers, most of whom themselves have come from high socio-economic backgrounds, fail to accept is that the lower ability groups generally cannot cope with middle class standards of living and culture imposed upon them and are perfectly happy and pursuing a useful and satisfying life without them just as the primitive races invaded by missionaries were perfectly happy pursuing their life-styles without the dubious benefits of technology, of western classical culture or Christian moral precepts.

The plain fact is that most people's aspirations in life amount to security of employment which provides them with the requirements to sustain themselves and their family, a home of their own in which they can pursue their own interests and leisure comfortably and simply.

Generally speaking most people do not wish to be forced to consider ISSUES. They are content to leave decisions about the way their country works to those they have elected by democratic processes to do so. They prefer to leave decisions about specific aspects of our life-style to those whose own interest happens to be expertise in various fields and leadership developed through training and experience. The red herring of community involvement is causing a great deal of unnecessary anguish in ordinary people who do not seek such participation and are happy to be advised by the experts.

No lasting monument to human endeavour has emerged from other than strict training in the basic skills. It is trite to observe that all the greatest achievements of this civilisation, the classicism of the last four thousand years and the technological supremacy of the past two hundred have been achieved by individuals and groups who have been educated in a system which has changed very little and is based on the assumption that the accumulated experience of civilisation and the techniques and knowledge which represent it need to be passed on to succeeding generations as a basis for their own development and the improvement of it.

Associated with this assumption is that certain disciplines are essential to such development of the person and there is clear evidence that the liberalising of educational practice and of community ways of life has led to a lowering of standards in every way. It is against that lowering of standards that the so-called conservative is reacting. That the world was a happier place when order in society either prevailed or was at least regarded as desirable is very apparent. The mass indoctrination of world populations into believing that equality can be achieved has led mainly to their suffering and discontent whilst the leaders of totalitarian regimes wallow in the very power and privilege they decry and have attained at the expense of their supposedly equal compatriots.

The great totalitarian dream is unattainable because you cannot change human nature and human nature, whether we like it or not, is like that of any other member of the animal kingdom on this planet based on survival of the fittest. The only difference between the rational human being and his irrational animal counterpart is that humans have developed compassion towards their fellows which enables us to make sacrifices of our survival drives for the benefit of the weaker members of our own species. This is the reason we attempt to give a supportive standard of living to under-privileged or disadvantaged groups in society. But where we continue relentlessly, and at the expense of quality and development of ability where it lies dormant, to persuade and to indoctrinate those of lesser ability, of lesser expectation and aspiration to feel that they are obliged to achieve what their natural abilities prevent them from achieving then we have created an unhappy world indeed. It is precisely this that I fear Community Education is in danger of doing.

Throughout this paper I have stated my belief that there are more important and basic issues in education at the moment being clouded by the big new thing of Community Education which is not new and has been inflated to almost fanatical proportions. Indeed, why should education be singled out at all as the big thing in which the community has to be involved? No one suggests that the community invade the area of medical care to say what it expects the policies to be. The community expectation of the medical profession is simply that people are cured if they become ill. The community expectation of the legal profession is that when they need defence or counsel they can get it. The community expectation of any agency in society is simply that the agency does what it is there to do. Why then should there be any more concern generated about education? The community simply expects the educational fraternity to get on with the job of educating children to a point where they can take their place in society. The fact is that education has always been and is no less now an experience provided also by the family, by the media, by the church, by all sorts of agencies and activities in which everyone is involved and school is only one part of that network. That specific educational institution does, however, what the family and the amateur cannot do, that is to say, it imparts to a young and inexperienced mind those concepts, skills and processes which lead to basic literacy and numeracy. Social engineering has become more a part of what goes on in schools as other agencies decline in their potency, but most of this still continues to occur outside the formal school. The constant belabouring of the point that the schools should no longer be such specific institutions for specific purposes is precisely what has led to the present lowering of standards of literacy, numeracy and personal conduct acceptable to the community and thus in the capacity of people to cope with life. Because we are pressing children to expand their minds into areas such as sociology, politics, psychology and all sorts of other recently invented studies, highly suitable for academics and intellectuals at tertiary institutions is precisely why we have so many adults eating their hearts out about ISSUES, having been told, largely by the media, that it is their social responsibility so to do, and thus submitting them to much unnecessary worry and strain and instability.

If you do not agree with what I have written of the way I have written it then I accept that you have as much right to your views as I have to mine. Although, for me, I have proved beyond doubt, over a period of half a generation that my largely conservative view of education is acceptable to and effective for a considerable proportion of the public. If we then continue to think and to practise our educational method in diverse ways then we are indeed achieving what education is all about: an opportunity for choice on the part of every member of society in relation to the education of his children and not to have forced down his throat any ideology which is spawned as a good thing just because it is new.

What is very sad is that there appears to be a vindictiveness among some of the promoters of Community Education. This unfortunate belief that only they are right and that anyone who disagrees must be eliminated is very frightening. An example of this kind of extreme exists at this moment in New South Wales where the Teachers' Federation has passed a motion calling for all single-sex schools to be illegal and yet a few years ago all their members were happily teaching in single-sex schools. It is this kind of destructive thinking which is contrary to the freedom which, thank God, we can still enjoy in this country.

If this choice should ever be denied us by the vicious and selfish in society, as has happened elsewhere in this world, we shall end up in an undignified and oppressed situation similar to that of the inhabitants of totalitarian countries. Those who think they have to fight and destroy for some kind of ideological liberation are the very ones who are jeopardising the education and the future of this potentially great nation.

SCHOOL EDUCATION — THE CONTRIBUTION OF THE COMMUNITY

I. F. VACCHINI

This paper is concerned with the contribution made by the community to education. More particularly it looks at school education and the relationship of two "communities" to the philosophy, administration content and processes of that education. The two communities are: (i) the local community of any particular school — children, teachers, other staff, parents and other citizens who have an interest in or consider themselves to be associated with the school and (ii) the broadest community in which the school operates — the combination of cultural, social, political, economic and industrial factors at national, state and regional levels. Clearly, the school serves these two communities local and national, through the child.

To provide a definitive description of the contribution to school education by either of these "communities" is a task beyond any single paper and this paper does not attempt the impossible. Its purpose is to provide basis for discussion by setting out in broad terms the nature of the contribution by the two "communities", drawing attention to some changes which have occurred, the implications of such changes and some possible developments. The new emphasis on involvement of the community in education at the local level is producing changes and problems in school/community relationships. These affect and are affected by changes at state and national level, the two sets of changes not necessarily moving in the same direction. Conflict has occurred and further clashes seem inevitable.

Of necessity this paper primarily reflects the situation in New South Wales. Examples are drawn largely but not entirely from that State.

School Level

(a) Community Contribution — The Situation

The contribution of the local community to the school is undergoing a marked change in Australia. While the pace of change varies greatly from state to state and from school to school the change is occurring widely. This change is part of a general movement towards greater community involvement in education. This bringing together of school and community in mutual interaction takes many forms: some result in benefit to the community, others assist the school specifically; some are extensions of traditional contacts, others new initiatives; some meet general or qualified acceptance from school and community, others are regarded with caution or are strongly opposed by professional and layman.

Forms of involvement bringing benefit to the community by new or extended school activities include wider community use of the physical resources of the school — buildings, grounds and equipment, provision of a focal point for new communities especially, better means of communication from school to parents and others, provision of learning facilities for age groups above and below traditional school age — various forms of community education, and social services provided to community and individuals by students and/or staff of schools. These are, of course, the school's contribution to its local community. They are generally acceptable to both teachers and community provided they are not seen as inhibiting the school's prime function — education of the child.

In this paper, however, we are concerned with the complementary forms of community involvement, in which the community or some members contribute to the school. Some of these, too, are traditional and some new; some are accepted, others treated with considerable caution or even outright opposition.

(i) *Traditional Fund Raising and Physical Help.*

In its most traditional forms local community contribution consists largely of material support to the school: labour such as working bees, maintenance committees and canteen workers, library helpers, and activities such as fetes, concerts and other ways of raising money to purchase items for the school. Teachers have generally regarded these activities as inconvenient but acceptable because necessary in the absence of "adequate" government help. In recent years this form of community involvement has come to be regarded by many parents as both unnecessary and undesirable — unnecessary because of the increased availability of federal and state funds and undesirable because it relegates parents to mere supportive activities unconcerned with education itself. Yet the importance of this type of community involvement should not be underestimated. It allows those parents and other community members who are (or consider themselves to be) incapable of making a managerial or education contribution to take part in a limited but still worthwhile manner. With regard to the fund raising component in particular, parents come to gain an identification with the organisation concerned. There have been instances in recent times where parent support for and interest in some parochial schools has declined in proportion to the amount of state and federal funds which have become available to the school. If locals have to raise the money they appear to have more interest in the way it is spent.

(ii) *Management of Property and Resources.*

A more sophisticated but still non-educational form of community contribution is to be found in parental contributions to management of the physical resources of school buildings and grounds and to administration of the community use of such facilities. While many parents (in N.S.W. at least) have rejected proposals that they should participate in such management activities some at least in other places have been willing to make a contribution in this way. School councils in Victoria and South Australia have this role as one facet of their responsibilities. Employment of non-teaching staff (or participation in decisions by others to do so) is an extension of this management role.

The dilemma of this form of contribution lies in the extent of management control. Mere servicing of community use of facilities, minor maintenance and so on, with limited allocation of funds (or worse having to raise the funds), tends to leave the "managers" dissatisfied. The power and the responsibility are not sufficiently challenging and rewarding. Some parents feel that in such activities they are being asked to "do the Department's dirty work on the cheap". While some teachers show concern that the Department (government, authority etc.) is skimping on salaries, most seem fairly neutral while only limited powers are concerned. While greater interest and satisfaction accrue to community representatives opposition from the profession increases as the power of any council or board of managers increases. Lay control of school funds is seen as especially threatening to professional control over education. Employment of non-teaching staff is seen as the thin end of the wedge leading to lay control of professional staff through right of hire and fire.

(iii) *Contribution to the Process of Education.*

In the area of community contribution to the processes of education we find both established and new forms of participation. Parental assistance in school sporting, music, drama, general studies, art and craft programmes is not new but is growing rapidly. Organisations (public and private) in the community have traditionally provided learning resources used in excursions, field studies and the like. These have found general acceptance by the community and by schools — especially as most result from school initiatives and invitation in the first place.

Newer forms of individual contribution are to be found in the large numbers of parents and others who assist teachers in reading and mathematics programmes, both regular and remedial. New also are the much smaller numbers of parents, grandparents and other suitable community members who provide voluntary counselling or a parent surrogate for certain types of children — or for children in certain situations. The range of field studies has extended also, to include extensive camping programmes and major educational tours.

Schools using classroom volunteers have found care necessary in the selection, briefing and deployment of such people. The volunteer who does not honour the obligation of confidentiality can be a problem. The volunteer who becomes confident to the point of appearing to want to take over constitutes a different type of problem. Yet principals of schools with volunteers (and these are extensive now) have found that such problems can be solved and that the benefits more than compensate for the difficulties. Certainly the strongest expressions of concern and opposition appear to come from teachers and principals who have not attempted to make use of this community resource. Less is heard now of the earlier allegations that Departmental encouragement of such schemes is a means of replacing teachers by unpaid workers.

The most significant new community contribution by organisations, as opposed to individuals, would appear to be the secondary school work experience programmes. Again there have been considerable problems in such schemes. Ironically, in this form of community contribution where community, profession and administration are all in favour, other difficulties have arisen, mainly in the legal and industrial aspects. Action to solve these has been taken (for example, Victoria's "Education — (Work Experience)" Act of 1974) or is in process.

(iv) *Contribution to Decision-Making.*

While all of the above community contributions raise problems for schools there is, now, a general consensus that the advantages of such types of interaction far outweigh the disadvantages. This is certainly not true, however, of attitudes of most teachers, principals, administrators, parents and other citizens towards community participation in education policy-formulation and decision-making and in the appraisal or evaluation of the school. There may be no consensus but certainly the majority of those expressing views are very cool at least towards the idea of the community's contributing in what are still seen as the traditional preserves of the professional.

It is this facet of community involvement which has the potential for dramatic changes in school community relationships in Australia over the next decade or two. The degree to which communities are able to and are encouraged to make a contribution towards a school's general philosophy, towards its more specific policies and its time-bounded programmes for implementation of policy will probably become one of the major variables in school education.

The degree of local community contribution to education in this area might vary from informal, unsolicited advice to total control of the school by a local committee. Neither of these extremes is likely to have much impact in the Australian context. Most interested parents and other community members will come to demand more than a mere token interest in their advice — they will demand structured means of ensuring that the views of the community are given serious consideration. On the other hand it seems unlikely that many parents or teachers will accept an Australian public system in which the school is entirely subordinate to a parent or community controlled body. (Even though these already exist in non-government, independent schools in Australia.)

(b) Community Contribution — Developments and Implications

No matter how lukewarm parents and community members have been in recent years about challenging schools and education, the climate is now changing. More and more press items reflect parental dissatisfaction with schools, "standards" and teachers. That the majority of parents still have confidence in their children's teachers is of far less significance than the growing range of public questioning and debate led by what may be only a minority of stirrers. The important point is that the challengers are themselves, for the most part, articulate, well educated people in organisations which understand the power and publicity game.

As people concerned with education, we are concerned to know what the real situation is, to examine the empirical evidence for decline or change, and to take steps to help overcome any deficiencies. However, while the question of standards must be of great concern to us, the public interest aroused, the involvement of the community in the debate and the fact that issues have been raised should be seen as hardly less important, even if the "declining standards" cry proves to be unfounded.

The contrary is probably true. If the standards debate is based upon false assumptions there is probably even greater reason to look to, and respect the community thrust into education in this area. It then becomes our responsibility to ensure that the real situation is known, that there are adequate means for communicating the facts to the community and, above all, that machinery is established whereby the community's concerns and educators' plans can be exchanged at school level and system level.

Community contributions to school policy and curriculum can be invited and structures set up to ensure that the school understands what the needs and wishes of the local community are and so that the community is informed about what the school is trying to do, not only to meet local needs but also to transcend them in the inculcation of wider values, in the serving of society as a whole. As schools gain more authority to develop their own school-based curricula so the need for school-community interaction becomes acute. If provision is not made by schools and systems for this to happen, community pressures may attempt to force on schools acceptance of local community views. Under such circumstances there will almost certainly be a multiplicity of views, many based on prejudice, misinformation, emotional reaction and so on. There will be an increase in conflict of the unproductive kind with schools and their curricula becoming political battlegrounds with most undesirable outcomes for the children who are the purpose of the schools.

In Australia, at the local level we have been moving fairly rapidly, if only recently, from a situation where most schools could be described as "fortress schools" as part of a closely regulated large system to a situation in which school-community interaction is becoming fashionable and widespread, and the "fortress school" is uncommon, if not rare. At the same time we have moved away from a hierarchical line accountability in school systems toward greater decentralisation and the devolution of decision-making to the school level: we are seeing an increasing involvement of school staff members in the decision-making processes within the schools.

Systems and National Levels

While the contribution of the community is being extended at the local level and systems are undergoing changes which are designed to allow parents and other citizens to play more meaningful roles in the school, systems themselves are changing at the top, or at the "centre" as the term now seems to be.

National, state and regional moves to involve the community to a greater degree at these levels reflect basic moves in our society — attempts to modify the impersonal remoteness of large institutions, in part by building into the decision-making processes those who will be affected by them. Clearly at national, state and regional level community contributions must depend to a much greater extent on the process of representation. Community representatives tend to be leaders in parent organisations or have other readily identifiable backgrounds of involvement. Representatives of the profession, now included more frequently as others affected by decisions, tend to be office-holders in unions or other nominees of the unions.

At the regional level within the states community representation is relatively limited, reflecting slow progress towards educational "autonomy" for regional bodies or authorities. Even in states where regions have been in existence for some time the regional office is, for most purposes, merely a branch of the main office of the department. For the possibilities of the future we need look no further than our own, federal capital territory. The new A.C.T. Authority (and its interim body before it) serves a community which is the size of a small region. The Authority has representatives from government, from community organisations in education and from the teaching profession. Thus the community of that "region", the A.C.T., is able to make a contribution to school education at the central policy level as well as at the local school level through school boards.

Whether regions in other parts of Australia will be given the type of authority now found in the A.C.T. is by no means certain but for N.S.W. the growth of almost "autonomous" regions is considered to be one possibility when the proposed Education Commission becomes a reality. In the meantime, the working Party established to inquire into the Commission, has itself a high proportion of community and teacher representatives in its membership, thus permitting a community and teacher union influence greater than that which would come merely through submissions in the normal way. It seems probable that the Education Commission itself, when formed, will have similar community and teacher representation.

On the national scene the Schools Commission already functions as a body concerned to take account of community views and to encourage community participation. The members of the Commission, although appointed and not representatives, include persons who are able to present a community, system or teacher viewpoint.

In many ways, in addition to membership of major bodies like the Commission, community and teacher representatives are being given opportunities to make a contribution to school education at the system level. Ad hoc committees of enquiry (as for example in N.S.W. currently, into education for the talented child or into the place of religious education in state schools) now generally include community representatives. The most recent government appointed committee in N.S.W. is looking into priorities for school staffing. This Committee comprises politicians, union representatives and community representatives. It does not even have representatives from the administration (that is, from the Department of Education). In addition to membership of ad hoc committees, community representatives have a place on many standing committees and boards as, for example, in New South Wales on the Secondary Schools Board, the State Disadvantaged Schools Committee, and the State Development Committee as well as most of the eleven Regional In-service Committees.

Moves to increase community contribution at the local level are being complemented by a general tendency to include community representatives on regional, systems, and national bodies — giving further opportunity for community contribution at those levels. Whereas there has been quite a deal of opposition to community contribution to decision-making at the local level, representation at higher levels has met with greater acceptance. Community contribution at state level, say, does not appear to contain the threat posed by local level intervention. Community representatives always constitute a minority at system, state and national level. Representation of teachers is

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at least equal to and usually greater than community representation. Community representatives tend to be public figures whose philosophy, strengths and tactics are known. Risks of personal contact with staff, of loss of mystique, of awareness of the situation in any particular school are minimal where community representatives operate at system level.

Implications - Accountability

If the contribution of the community is to increase both at local level and at system level to the point where the community will actually have a direct say in school education then this surely will mean that schools become more responsive to the needs of both local communities and society as a whole. Will this mean that a mechanism of response to community needs and wishes will become available to replace the declining accountability of schools through their systems? In theory this might be so. In practice the future may see even less clear lines of accountability of schools to the community.

An examination of the broad changes that have occurred recently within systems and between systems in schools and their communities may shed some light on the matter. We are all well aware of changing relationships within systems. Are these changes within systems occurring because society as a whole is changing or merely because teachers and schools are changing? Are traditional systems being replaced because they are bad? Or is the change inevitable so that we seek for the undesirable features of the past in order to justify the present and the probable future?

What are the implications of the changes, especially in terms of accountability? If systems no longer exercise control, who will undertake the responsibility? Is it possible for the community to do so, either at the local level or by system intervention or a combination of both?

It is the contention of this paper that mechanisms will operate to render largely ineffective any community contributions to education decision-making especially in the field of accountability, both at the local level and at the system level. Moves to give the community an opportunity to contribute have been accompanied by similar moves towards worker participation — giving teachers locally and their representatives at system level a role in decision-making. However desirable such professional participation may be it will lead to clashes over power at all levels. The entrenched positions of "professionals" in Australian schools and systems, together with long established patterns of organisation will work against any real say for community members.

In order to examine this contention let us look to an earlier period in the Australian education scene when local community involvement and community representation at national and state levels were virtually unknown, and teacher participation in management was quite limited. We do not need to go very far into the past at all, to find an era of tightly controlled community contribution.

Changing Relationships

(a) Traditional Systems and Authority

The traditional Australian public school did little to involve its immediate community beyond seeking an input of material support — funds to purchase equipment unsupplied by the system — labour to maintain grounds (and some structures) inadequately maintained by the system. While most schools took steps to communicate with parents about their children's progress, until quite recently little was said about school philosophy. Certainly no contribution of parental views on matters of education was sought by the school.

Influence of the wider community was quite indirect — with little public interest, and the subject of education scarcely rating a mention in the press and on the radio. Decision-making about schools was almost entirely the prerogative of the "professional". Material resources came through state budgets — philosophy through administrators, university and teachers' college personnel and senior teachers — all products of a self-perpetuating system. Major decisions affecting education were made on the advice of administrators or in some cases in response to pressure exerted through party machinery.

The assumption throughout the process was that those at the top knew what was best for all children and that, apart from some "political" decisions made in the interests of a special group or section, the community was protected by statewide policy and practice. Parents and other local community members were assumed to be unintelligent and ill-informed in any matters relating to teaching — an assumption which appears to have been supported by most parents themselves.

This was a comfortable system in which to work. The authority of the administrator, to the inspector, to the principal was clear-cut. Those of greatest expertise and greatest experience made the decisions. Changes were effectively implemented throughout the relevant parts of a system because of the authority and perceived power in the structure.

Probably this system *was* effective in terms of the end product — education and development of the child in the context of the society of that time. The traditional Australian authoritarian, centralised school systems have been greatly criticised by generations of overseas observers, yet it is not hard to list the advantages of such systems. The elements of such a system were monitored and regulated by experienced professionals. In curriculum, common syllabuses gave the inexperienced or unimaginative (or lazy) teacher a reasonably acceptable basis for teaching while the more adventurous teacher was rarely hampered by such basic guides.

In common syllabuses, in staff supervision, in inspections, advice and assessment inexperienced and/or unconfident teachers had a secure situation in which to grow.

Such systems (through central monitoring) provided for the community:

— a transmission of society-wide, national and some international values

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— means of going beyond local standards

— monitoring and control mechanisms for accountability

— economy and efficiency in the consolidation of services

— protection of minorities

— equality of opportunity through even-handed distribution of resources, both personnel and material

— more recently, a deliberate inequality of resource allocation to compensate for disadvantage.

Over the last decade such systems have been changing — breaking down the centralised structure by a policy of devolution of decision-making to regions and on to schools. Primary curriculum, secondary curriculum, public examinations, assessment and promotion of teachers all reflect the now accelerating breakdown of system authority in the various states.

One might ask why this has happened — why is it continuing to happen? It is easy to read and to hear statements to the effect that such changes represent a recognition of the professional development of teachers. Teachers may now take steps towards moulding educational experiences to suit the needs of particular children at any particular time and place. There can be no doubt that many teachers in many schools in Australia do work with competence and purpose towards such an educational ideal but are the possibility and the reality of its general application being sufficiently considered? Is it fashionable to give freedom to schools — to principals — teachers and to pupils? Are we merely following fashion? Some members of the community apparently believe this to be so.

Have we (or others) decided that centralised, authoritarian systems are bad and that, therefore, locally based, "permissive" systems are necessarily good for education?

Is the reality rather that, in a changing society, systems have been *forced* to let go. Changes among teachers and their unions and among some parents in some parts of the wider community may have made system controls untenable. Are systems unable to exercise control because of industrial and other pressures from the teaching service? Have systems unwittingly abdicated responsibility under the guise of liberalisation and recognition of teacher competence?

(b) Alternatives for Accountability

What happens in an education system when the authority structures change or disappear? Is there a vacuum of accountability? Who is available to fill the gap — the teaching profession, parents of children at the school, other community representatives, local government?

(i) *The Profession*

The teaching profession does not have a very impressive record as a self-disciplining body — particularly in any formal structured sense — look at the outcome of the overseas attempts at a professional board for this purpose — several years in existence and no action taken! Can we learn from the more recent experience of the A.C.T. where teacher representatives have been built into the authority and local school boards and where, in particular, peer assessment is used for promotion eligibility?

Certainly, Hedley Beare, the Chief Education Officer of the A.C.T. Authority takes a more optimistic view of the role of teachers in administration but he sees an inconsistency between professional participation and bureaucratic structure. In a recent paper he notes that "we involve (teachers) in the administration of education as professionals, expecting of them professional behaviour . . . Teacher unions, however, are likely to require them to express a partyline, sometimes pushing industrial rather than educational advantage."[1]

The problem of conflict of interest between the professional and industrial in a work group is by no means unique to teachers, of course. It is aggravated in education by the very strength and importance of the unions involved, relative to those of other professions. This is an important consideration to be kept in mind when schools are proposed, by some teachers, as self-accountable. The proposition is that teachers as "professionals" (albeit employees) need to be accountable to no one other than themselves.

While there seems little doubt that contributions to the management of education will increasingly include the views of teachers (as philosophy or more for compelling industrial reasons) it seems equally certain that teachers alone cannot fill the accountability gap. If for no other reason then because it is highly unlikely that any democratic society would ever accept a public utility spending vast amounts of public money with the employees being accountable to no one but their own consciences.

(ii) *Regional Authorities*

Where else then shall we look for the community contribution to policy and evaluation of education? To local government? Under the Australian political structure and in the light of our historical background and community attitudes to local government, this is a most unlikely source of contribution, whatever the situation might be in other countries. To regions? Regions are long established now in N.S.W. well on the way in some other states. Could some regional community body with representatives of teachers, parents and other community members carry out the role? Contributions to philosophy, planning, evaluation and regulation could well come from such a body. Yet, while regions are developing, regional education councils appear not to be. A major problem lies in the situation in Australia in that regions are really administrative branch offices of a central authority. We just do not have political decentralisation in Australia.

(iii) *Parents and Local Community*

So, in the absence of effective accountability through system or profession it may devolve upon parents and other community members at the local level to provide some means of evaluating the school and giving direction to its programmes.

In one sense parents and other local citizens are the most appropriate members of the community to provide the main contribution to philosophy, policy and evaluation for they are the consumers — in the sense that they pay for the product — and in the sense that they and their children are the chief beneficiaries (or victims!) of the school. Further, parents and other local community members are in the most immediate position to assess the needs of the children of the local community, to test and respond to the school programmes in their short-term impact on children. Parents are accessible to the school and its teachers All communication is difficult but the opportunity exists for relatively easy and effective communication from teachers to parents concerning innovations, changes, school aims and so on.

Local community members have the further advantage of being able to participate in some programmes. As a teacher's aide, a volunteer classroom helper, an organiser of equipment, an instructor in craft, a sport coach, the local person gains knowledge and understanding of what the school is about, as well as personal satisfaction through a sense of contribution and a feeling of identification.

On the other hand, parents and other "lay" members of the community frequently lack both knowledge and confidence in matters educational. They sometimes tend to judge schools by things that most educationists would regard as quite superficial, by hearsay. More often, school activities and programmes, together with the attitudes, dress and behaviour of the pupils, are compared with those of schools when the parents were themselves, pupils. For these reasons, and others, parents and local community members tend to be markedly conservative.

One major effect of local community input to school education may well turn out to be a slowing down of innovation and change.

There will probably be other important "negative" outcomes of building parents into the power structure. There are many unanswered questions about "parent power" which should be asked here. Before we do consider these perhaps we should reflect upon a recent real case in England. The details are English, the significance universal. Some parents (and teachers) believed that through the philosophy of the principal (and some other teachers) the educational functions of their children's school had broken down. The issues at stake arose from conservative/progressive differences amongst staff as regards an open v. traditional classroom approach, reinforced by differing views of schools as agencies of social change or maintenance. The whole situation was aggravated by indecision, inaction and certainly by insufficient system structuring and monitoring of the situation.

Over a period of months parents considered that the school was deteriorating — a declining enrolment reflecting an unsatisfactory situation. The school system would not, or could not, take appropriate action quickly enough. The parents, seeking to rectify the school's deficiencies, as they perceived them, attempted to influence events through committees, through the school Governors and finally through the party political machinery associated with the L.E.A.

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The result was a complete breakdown of communication leading even to violence and to a public inquiry which gained national attention. The case is, of course, that of the Inner London, William Tyndale Junior and Infants' Schools.[2]

Perhaps this case constitutes a salutary example of what will happen when systems "abdicate", where there is insufficient machinery to cope with conflict and where there is no significant personality intervention to "save the day".

Perhaps it is impossible, even in the English context, let alone the Australian, to build up an adequate structure to give sufficient power to the local community.

(iv) *Other Schemes*

Recently, there have been, in the countries of the Western World, new attempts to design mechanisms to provide for more direct community contribution to schools and systems and to allow for community evaluation and a choice of options. These attempts have not been confined to countries where there have been centralised, bureaucratic systems in the past. On the contrary, most have occurred in countries where there has always been some degree of local school/community relationships. The aim is to provide better means for community choice. In New Zealand there has been a nationwide review of education involving profession and community. In Britain there are enquiries into school/community relations including the current Taylor Committee examining the governance of schools. In the United States the home of the "school board", there is widespread interest and activity in reviewing and improving school/community relationships.

Proposals have been made to give direct school accountability to the community or in some cases to the individual parents. There has been a great variety of these including attempts to open up systems giving complete choice of school to child and parent with different schools or sub-units offering different types of education. There have been many proposals for different types of voucher schemes. There have been attempts to involve communities in a range of compensatory education schemes. There have even been experiments in contract education.

Most such schemes have come under attack in some way or other. Contract education has been condemned as not only inefficient (the outcomes do not last) but culturally immoral in that all but basic skills are ignored. Voucher schemes have been soundly condemned for a whole range of reasons — as being impracticable, as being based purely on the economics of the market place and then not having the means to allow parents a valid choice. The only major trial of vouchers in the U.S., for example, at Alum Rock, has been closed down. Even the basic concept of open choice of school is seen as merely a myth.

Other schemes attempt to increase community contribution to policy and evaluation without making such basic changes in existing systems or giving such a degree of parental control (or choice). There are national enquiries and seminars, there are various schemes to introduce school councils and boards, as for example in the established A.C.T. and S.A. systems, the now developing Victorian scheme and the abortive N.S.W. plans. There are proposals to involve parents and other community representatives in evaluation or appraisal teams. This is proceeding in Victoria with School Review Boards but is little more than a faint minority suggestion in N.S.W.

Barriers to Community Contribution

The possibility of greater community involvement in the processes of education decision-making at all levels seems quite remote in the present situation in Australia. There are, as described, token moves but the reality is not so reassuring. For the community to have an effective voice there will need to be a major change in the thinking of administrators, principals and teachers on the one hand and parents and other community members on the other.

Difficulties facing the community in seeking to make a greater local contribution include definition of role, obtaining consensus and identifying what is and is not feasible.

(a) Definitions, Consensus and Feasibility

In a recent parent organisation seminar in Sydney, Dr. Ken McKinnon,[3] Chairman of the Schools Commission drew attention to many of these practical problems by questioning the theme of the seminar, "Parent Power". He asked what sort of power and control parents (or some of them) wanted over schools — over finances only?, over people?, over curriculum? or just over use of facilities? He drew attention to the fact that no school in the Australian context can really be autonomous while we have ultimate ministerial authority. The "branch office" nature of regions (already alluded to in this paper) even *with* parent councils, is underlined by the central allocation of resources.

Dr. McKinnon also drew attention to the self-perception of the teaching profession. Teachers have a unique view of themselves as professionals. They do not, as doctors and lawyers do, present clients with the possible alternatives and allow the client to make the decisions. Teachers do not seek a mandate to proceed with a particular plan of action. Thus while there are some beginnings of the sharing of power within schools, from principals to teachers, the prospect of further sharing with parents and other community members faces many difficulties.

The sharing of power within schools by giving the community a more direct contribution will not solve problems. Present tensions will not be allayed but, according to Dr. McKinnon new tensions will appear — parents will divide along conservative/reformist and traditional/progressive lines even more than the profession does. If community inputs do develop, the "great grey dullness" of the large system will probably alter. Schools will be less like other schools and there will be more individual school identity but Dr. McKinnon sees further problems flowing from this situation. What are the opportunities for choice? What happens in remote areas? How does one protect the interest of minority groups, including all migrants? State systems are neutral — they are grey but they are even-handed.

On the question of community contribution to the evaluation of education Dr. McKinnon raised further problems. If schools (and systems) are to be accountable to parents how will this be done? To whom will they be accountable and for what? What is the place of students in this process — are they community members — what are their rights in relation to those of parents?

If schools are to account to the community will it be only for money expended? Or will schools have to communicate and justify programmes? Or outcomes? This may lead to *demands* for outcomes — for basic skills plus a whole host of other outcomes that it may not be realistic to ask schools to do well. Thus, Dr. McKinnon feels the community will be forced into the situation of having to sort out priorities and deciding what schools can do and what must be left to other agencies — especially established if necessary.

In drawing attention to all these problems, Dr. McKinnon was not suggesting that the need to involve the community should be ignored. Rather he was pointing to the problems and foreshadowing one role of the Schools Commission, namely to help schools and the community face up to the implications of greater community involvement, thus uncovering tensions rather than solving them at this stage.

Dr. McKinnon appears to remain optimistic that something might be done to help a community wishing to make a greater contribution sort out problems and find ways and means.

Unfortunately there is strong evidence that the community, even the active minority, are not particularly interested in becoming involved. Apart from general evidence in the community — increase in passive recreations — decline in membership of societies, community groups and so on, recent attempts by governments to stimulate community contributions to education decision-making have produced some disappointingly negative reactions.

(b) Reactions and Attitudes — Community

Clearly the picture varies from state to state but the same or similar elements can be discerned to some degree in all. In N.S.W. where reaction was strongest, the government sought community views on change.[4] Response from the general community was negligible. Response from educators outside schools was negligible. The large majority of parent bodies did respond with submissions and the great majority of these said "Don't change anything", even while they complained strongly about the current situation.

In reactions, at the time and since, patterns of community attitude emerge. Clearly identifiable elements include:—

— A reluctance to accept responsibility.

— A reluctance (or inability) to devote the necessary time to participation.

- A cynicism about the motives of governments and about the possibility of any desirable outcomes.
- A lack of confidence: the "leave it to the experts" attitude.
- A reluctance to confront teachers and teacher organisations based at least in part on fear of reprisals against the child.
- A belief that local community participation in school decision-making will lead to parochialism, to an uneven distribution of resources and to influence by "cranks" pressure groups and vested interests, especially business and religion.
- A fear that local participation will lead to local control and, inevitably, local funding.
- A lack of consensus as to the purpose of schooling, and
- The habits of 100 years of non-involvement.

Can we look to the profession then, in its sometimes claimed task of "raising the sights of the community", to lead the community to make a greater contribution? There can be no doubt that teachers and their organisations can influence public opinion — witness their role in raising the political status of education over the last decade.

(c) Reactions and Attitudes — The Profession

Again the picture of recent events is not reassuring. There has been much negative reaction from many teachers, principals and administrators to any growth in community contribution to decision-making. Common elements of teacher reaction have emerged. As with parent reaction these found strongest expression in N.S.W. but the same patterns of thinking can be discerned in other places. Many teachers and principals have demonstrated:

- A fear of "lay" interference in the school. This is seen as a possibility in both professional and industrial matters. This fear is reinforced by the myths of parent control elsewhere. The U.S.A. is seen as comprising thousands of school boards which are constantly battered and corrupted by "commercial interests" which insist on their products being purchased by the school and on the dismissal of staff who hold different political views or who do not shop at the "company store".
- A not-unexpected concern for the loss of professional status and skill by removal or exposure of the professional "mystique". There has been considerable support for parental cries of "leave it to the experts".
- Inertia and opposition based on an unwillingness to accept change and learn new skills. Too often those persons well established in a system, with a long investment on the promotions ladder fear loss of career prospects, or of hard earned privileges. Often it is only too true that principals (and teachers) have no skills in handling the community because they have never really needed them. Younger

teachers seem less concerned than do principals and older teachers by the prospect of community participation in decision-making.

— Cynicism about government motives in sponsoring school boards and councils — a fear that the government hopes to marshal parents and others against teachers in industrial confrontations, and from this

— A general opposition to ideas "imposed" by governments and systems. This has been expressed in general terms as a belief that locally engendered, informal school/community contacts are acceptable but that all structured, system approved forms are undesirable.

— A confusion on accountability. There seems to be a strongly held belief on the part of a number of teachers (in N.S.W. and Victoria at least) that there can be a "profession" accountable only to itself. For a larger number of teachers there is a genuine concern that industrial gains of recent years will be lost in changes of economic climate and in any lay control of education.

With such attitudes in the background the building of a system to give the community a greater say seems difficult enough. Yet there are other problems relating to the contribution of the profession. Even in the A.C.T. where teacher acceptance and involvement has provided an example of what can be done in Australia, clashes have continued to occur. At the point where a decision by a community in the interest of the community conflicts with the career expectation or security of the professional, the goodwill breaks down. Not unnaturally, perhaps, industrial considerations outweigh professional. This, presumably is at the base of the present conflict in the A.C.T. over the respective roles of lay and professional members of school boards in contributing to the choice of school principals.

Because the Australian parent has tended to leave matters to the experts, to consider himself/herself ignorant of matters educational it has been fairly easy for teachers and principals who are reluctant to change to over-awe their lay counterparts on committees and boards. There is evidence that, where words and status fail, manipulation will be used. Even at the local level we have already seen the third stage of resistance, open industrial action.

At the system level the chances of resistance may, it seems, be enhanced by the moves to greater worker participation referred to earlier. If industrial pressures on the individual merely replace former bureaucratic constraints there is little gain. If worker participation at state level becomes an industrial tool to prevent further development of community contribution the situation will be worse than before.

(d) Institutional Constraints

Even without taking the above critical view of real and potential resistance by parents and teachers, it is still all to easy to identify barriers to effective community contribution whatever enabling structures are developed. Built into Australia's political, social and administrative systems are major constraints. Some of these are:

— A still pervasive centralist tendency, the subject of much debate in the political arena over recent years. This operates at both national and state levels.

— Ministerial responsibility not only in law but very much in the minds of the citizens. The complaint about the child's school opportunities or even about the school drain is more likely to come straight to the minister than go to school or region or department.

— Centralised funding. Funds raised centrally, even when disbursed with some local options tend to concentrate power centrally.

— Centralised unions reflecting centralised employing authorities. These tend to demand uniform loyalty to single, system-wide policies.

— Patterns of public service security, transfer and promotion which give binding investment in system careers. These also give protection in the sense of shielding against public criticism.

— Moves to restore centralised pupil assessment in national tertiary programmes to supplement or replace state and local instruments. National standards imply suppression of diversity.

Some Questions

This paper has attempted to draw attention to the contribution of the community to school education; especially in the sense of contribution to policy and accountability. There have been gains in contribution to processes. However, while some enabling machinery has been established for contribution to decision-making and evaluation the effective use of these remains to be developed. The pessimistic view of this paper is that this is unlikely to happen without radical changes in attitudes and these are notoriously difficult to change. The principal question to raise, then, is how true a picture of the situation has been presented. Is the future not so gloomy? Other questions to which we might address ourselves, apart from the many already asked in the text of the paper are:

1. To what extent do Australian schools still serve society at large rather than the local community? Is one more important than the other? What should be the balance between the needs of the local community and those of the wider society? Can this balance be defined?
2. What should be the form of community contribution to school education? Who in the local community should have a say in determining the nature of the contribution? What constitutes the community?
3. Are teachers a separate part of the community or do they have merely the same rights as other parents and citizens? Should any group be specially identified or given special representation? Employers? Trade Unions? Tertiary educators?
4. Should traditional forms of parent contribution (fund raising, working bees) continue to be encouraged?

5. What are the advantages and disadvantages of community contributions to education in the form of school volunteers — parents and others assisting in classroom, playground, excursion? Do volunteers add to or detract from the status of the teacher? Are they a threat to professionalism?
6. Is there a place for community members in the determination of educational policy? At national, state, regional, local levels? For special groups (as in 3 above)?
7. Should the local community have a say in the development of curriculum?
8. What role if any should the local community have in the evaluation of schools and their programmes?
9. If local community members do not have the ability and confidence to take part in educational management and policy formulation, what steps can be taken to develop awareness, confidence and skill?
10. If school/community interaction is accepted as desirable, how can the factors operating against it be overcome?

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COMMUNITY INVOLVEMENT IN SCHOOLS AND THE TEACHER

W. G. COPPELL AND B. F. HENRY

The main concern of this paper is to consider community involvement in education, particularly by parents, in relation to the teacher. It is easy to understand the general sense of uncertainty held by many in relation to the present state of parent-teacher relations when one considers that there are apparently conflicting claims and advice offered to both parents and teachers about the benefits of increased contact. There are those who support non-involvement of parents in schools, who believe the community is unable to assist in education and if it did participate then education would suffer. At the other extreme another group presents a view of community participation which places a seemingly unrealistic value on the ability of the involvement of parents and the public to right most of education's shortcomings.

Reasons For and Against Involvement

It has been proposed by some that home and the school may stand in opposition to one another. For instance Waller (1961) held that parents and teachers usually live in a condition of mutual distrust and emnity and that they are natural enemies, "predetermined each for the discomfiture of the other".

Musgrove (1966) observed that the school had often been seen as a threat to the home in at least two senses: in undermining parental influence and family values and substituting the different and perhaps quite alien influence of teachers; and in undermining parents' sense of responsibility, taking on child-care duties which should properly belong to parents.

Taylor (1976) supports the view that at one level the family and the school stand in clear opposition to one another and that better communication between parent and teacher will not eliminate this. The main objections to participation by parents and the community in schools may be summarised in the following:

(i) Greater influence by parents and members of the community on educational administration and school programmes and policy will lead to a deterioration in the standard of education. The position is held by many that the existing means for parental and community involvement allow for significant and meaningful contributions to be made to the quality of education but that there is neither the demand nor the need to alter the existing situation. There is the concern that to change the means of present participation would take control of education from the hands of the professional educator and harm educational equality.

(ii) Minority pressure groups will play a major role in expanded forms of community involvement. It is believed by many that groups with vested interests (e.g. political, religious, local pressure groups) will take charge of new avenues for community participation and use their position to initiate changes which would not have the support of the majority of parents and citizens and may not benefit education.

(iii) Involvement will tend to increase inequalities in society as participatory democracy tends to favour upper income educated communities who are more competent and more ready to use opportunities for involvement.

(iv) Many parents will be ultra-conservative and hinder educational innovations.

Those that support increased involvement in schools forward a wide range of reasons why it is vital to the quality and success of the child's education. Sharrock (1970) notes that one of the most important reasons for the increasing interest in home school relations has been the fact that within the last twenty years or so some major studies investigating the importance of home background for success in education have been undertaken. This research (Douglas, 1964; Douglas *et al.*, 1968; Plowden Report, 1967; Ainsworth and Batten, 1974; Enquiry I, 1968; Coleman, 1972) has made the case for an association between increased parent involvement and student achievement.

Research has revealed an association, not only with the more material features of the home environment, but with less tangible aspects such as the parents' attitudes to education. There is no doubt that there is a strong relationship between a child's home environment and how well he does at school and how long he stays at school.

Strong arguments are presented for the school, firstly to increase parents' interest in, and understanding of, their children's education, to enable parents to provide the right kind of support for their children during their school life; and secondly, to provide as much information and guidance for parents as possible. Sharrock (1970) emphasises that the school not only needs to give information but to receive it for the teachers' understanding of children's problems, learning difficulties and aspirations would be greater if they knew more about their pupils' home backgrounds and had more opportunities for meeting parents and learning from parents themselves some of the questions that are particularly of concern. It is suggested that if there are harmonious contacts between school and home, pupils will be less likely to regard their parents and teachers as pulling in opposite directions. Many believe that by increasing community participation in the school it will be made more responsive to the interests of the people it serves and also this involvement will promote a closer integration of the school and its community. Lynch and Pimlott (1976) propose that it can be argued that on philosophical and moral grounds parents should play a greater (more positive) part in the educational process. If parents have legal duties with regard to their children's education then conceivably they also have rights. In addition to those rights at present legally defined, others may include rights to certain information, reasonable access to their children's schools and even a statutory right to representation in the management of schools. In a democratic society, where the aim of equal opportunity for all is generally accepted, they maintain that providing the framework for all parents to become interested and involved in their children's school is a duty, especially if it helps to make the worst parental attitudes more like the best. Also it is offered that in a democracy, individuals should have as much direct control as possible over those institutions that are vital to them — this includes the school.

Models of Involvement

Arnstein (1971) has suggested the following "Ladder of Citizen Participation" in order to examine the levels of participation.

LADDER OF CITIZEN PARTICIPATION AND SCHOOL POLICY FORMATION

	Participation Level	*Educational Equivalent*
CITIZEN POWER	Citizen control	Free schools, complete community control
	Delegated power	Community control of specific areas, e.g. personnel
	Partnership	Joint policy boards
TOKEN REPRESENTATION	Placation	Citizens on board of control
	Consulting	Local community hearings, surveys, needs assessment
	Informing	Public relations practices — media bulletin, letters
NO PARTICIPATION	Therapy	Parent educational programmes
	Manipulation	Token advisory boards dominated by professionals

(adapted from Carroll, 1976)

Litwak and Meyer (1965) suggest a model of involvement in schools which is characterised by the locked door/open door/balanced door positions of the school and its community. The locked door approach aims to maximise the functional autonomy of the school and the assumption is that the school should be allowed to get on with its own work and deal with its own problems. It is felt that teaching is a professional occupation, and consequently diagnosis and treatment should be a professional concern. It is asserted that teachers do not need outside help, and hence ought not to be disturbed in their work. Parents are regarded as not only professionally unqualified, but also emotionally too involved to be effective in the education of their children. The school certainly considers that parents ought to encourage their children and see that they do what the school would wish, but all this should be done off the school premises, preferably at home. The school can only pursue a closed door approach, however, when parents, pupils and the community support its goals and recognise its competency to attain them, or when parents, pupils or community are too weak to challenge them. The open door approach intends to bring parents into the school, thereby helping to integrate school and community. The assumption is that significant learning does go on in the family, the peer group and in the neighbourhood. Moreover, in each of these different but interdependent social worlds, the child associates with significant others and learns appropriate values and skills. The approach here is not to isolate or ignore these influences, but rather to seek to harness them so that they support and reinforce the goals and work of the school, and also where necessary to adapt the school's administrative style, curriculum content, pedagogical methods and so on to its environment.

The open door approach encourages the school to work closely in association with parents and other local community groups. The aim is to bring the parents into the school and to take the school out into the community, in order to achieve maximum motivation and involvement of pupils, parents and local community in the work of the school. The school seeking an open door policy should develop and maintain strategies which achieve its educational goals, whilst maximising its involvement in the community.

Litwak and Meyer suggest that a balanced door position lies between these two approaches. It is a position which seeks to avoid, first, an excessive integration of school and community which may, on the one hand, prove to be parochial and stultifying and, on the other, may threaten professional standards; and second, to avoid undue isolation which may prevent the interchange of ideas and mutual understanding. It would seem desirable for each school and its community to judge the degree of isolation/integration that should take place. This would vary with the circumstances in each locality as each school selects the approach best suited for its own circumstances.

As another alternative the Schools Commission (1975) presented four levels of community involvement in education in Australia. It suggested that the majority of schools could be described in terms of the first or second level, with only a few at the third and a very small minority at level four. However, the Commission commented that there was increasing interest in the latter two levels and the Commission, through its funding, would seek to increase the momentum.

(i) Parents are not seen as having an educational role in the school and the influence of their educational role at home is often ignored. Interaction between home and school is limited to official occasions or to complaints from the parent or the school. This traditional "fortress" model limits the learning process to only the teachers and students within the school.

(ii) The school concentrates on promoting communication between parents and teachers with a view to improving the learning experience of the child. This level takes as its basis the known interest of parents in their own children's education and the belief that achievement will be greatly influenced by parental interest and knowledge of the learning process.

(iii) Opportunities exist for the various participants to reach agreement on educational values and objectives through continuing dialogue. This normally implies such institutional reforms as the inclusion of teachers, students and parents on school boards.

(iv) Initiatives are undertaken which may change the nature of the school itself in order to involve the school in the process of learning and there is general acceptance of the need for all to understand and influence the school as an important instrument of social intervention.

Types of Contact

There have been a number of studies which provide valuable information on the opportunities provided for parents to visit schools. Tabel 1 combines data from the Plowden Report (1967 : 129), Enquiry I (1968 : 109) and the Edinburgh study of McIntyre and Griffith, 1973 : 28). Not all types of contact were common to each survey.

TABLE 1

PROVISION FOR PARENT-TEACHER CONTACT

	Plowden	*Enquiry I*	*Edinburgh Study*
	% of parents indicating type of contact provided		*% of schools*
Open days	81	83	92
Child's medical	88	66	—
School concert	75	78	—
Social occasions	65	52	52
Sports day	55	—	—
PTA meeting	25	40	44
Prize giving	14	64	57
School outing	14	—	—
Careers evenings	—	35	—
Parents visit classroom	—	—	27
Parents meet principal	—	—	80
Special parent/teacher meetings	—	—	46
Newsletter	—	—	49

These results would indicate that the open day is a means of contact preferred by many British schools. Generally it is found that teachers prefer the more informal means of contact with parents to those that are more highly structured (Kelly, 1970).

When one considers parents' comments on contact at school it seems that parents who want to visit the school more often tended to be more critical of arrangements. The fact that little dissatisfaction is expressed by parents at the types of contact with teachers does not mean that the situation is satisfactory or that the types of contact available fulfil their purpose. Parents may be unaware of possible alternatives or feel hesitant about their right to expect anything different. Sharrock (1970 : 50) notes that although most parents may appreciate any opportunities that are given to them to visit their children's schools, many feel that there are insufficient opportunities for them to talk at reasonable length and in privacy with the principal or teacher, that the occasions that are provided are often, at times, inconvenient for parents, and that in many cases, parents do not have enough basic information even to ask the right questions.

Parents' Attitudes to Involvement

It is generally held that the right parental attitudes and parental interest and encouragement will help to raise the level of attainment, and therefore parent-teacher co-operation is presumably meant to foster the right attitudes, awaken and increase such interest, and support this encouragement.

The surveys of parents carried out for the Plowden Report (1967) covered preferred type of school, responsibility and initiative taken by parents over the child's education, parental interest and support, and the parents' aspirations for the child. The Report found that parental attitudes accounted for 28% of the variation in test scores, a larger percentage than either home circumstances or school variables. The Report concluded that "the fact that attitudes play so large a part is hopeful, since it is at least possible that attitudes may be open to persuasion".

In the Schools Council report on young school leavers, Enquiry I (1968), it was found that the great majority of parents of these children were happy with the existing arrangements for them to meet teachers. The most frequent suggestions for improvement made by the parents were that there should be more open days or evenings and that special times should be set aside to meet the staff. Other criticisms were that the existing arrangements gave insufficient time to have a proper discussion with the teacher or that the teacher was not accessible. Of considerable consequence was the finding that over half the parents felt they were interfering if they went to the school uninvited. This was a generally held view varying little with social class but being far stronger for parents of secondary age pupils than of primary students. While there was no indication that the schools discouraged the parents many parents felt that there was not enough interchange of information between the school and themselves. A majority stated that they would like to be told more about how their child was getting on and also many parents believed that teachers should ask them more about their child.

Lynch and Pimlott (1976) undertook a pilot study in Southampton on the co-operation between parents and teachers. They found that a large number of parents either did not know what opportunities there were to gain information from the school or felt that too little information was provided. The study acknowledged that there was a serious communication problem and ". . . clearly if parents are to become more involved schools need to develop new strategies . . . in order to inform parents of what they provide".

The majority of parents in the Southampton study also held substantial reservations with regard to parents being members of governing bodies and they felt that the teachers were capable of teaching the child without the parents' help. In relation to the functions of the school, the results of this study were similar to Enquiry I in that parents saw the main functions of the school as being those which would provide knowledge and skills, and which would promote the achievement of vocational success. However, in Southampton there was reasonable support for the school to pursue policies of community and parent education. Lynch and Pimlot (1976 : 61) concluded:

> With significant exceptions most parents at all the schools seemed to be relatively satisfied with what the schools were doing for their children and in each case there appears to have been a pool of latent goodwill towards the school and the teachers. On the other hand there are, quite naturally, areas where greater co-operation, infor-

mation and opportunity would appear to be desirable if the "educational covenant" between parents, teachers and other lay and professional groups in the community is to be made more flexible and yet more effective.

Teachers' Attitudes to Involvement

While the various arguments in favour of parental involvement are based upon a substantial volume of empirical evidence relatively little research has been directly concerned with contact between parents and teachers or with the factors affecting the nature and extent of such communication. Both Dady (1966) and Sharrock (1970) emphasised that too little information is available not only about teachers' attitudes to home-school relations but also about the relationship between the types of contacts chosen and the fundamental attitudes these may reflect. Only a few surveys (e.g. Spencer, 1970; Wall, 1947) have been devoted solely to teachers' attitudes on home and school contact. It would appear that the contacts that teachers have with parents are inevitably affected by their own attitudes to this contact.

A number of studies emphasise that the opinions of the principal and the teacher in regard to home and school relations do not always coincide. Green (1968) suggests that in matters of home-school relations the contacts which are actually in evidence may reflect the attitude of the principal rather than the teachers. Mays (1962) saw the role of the principal as the crucial factor in the school's relationship with its neighbourhood and Taylor (1972) has described the principal as occupying the focal position in intergroup and interpersonal processes.

There is data which suggests there are relationships between teachers' attitudes and a number of teacher variables such as age, grade level taught and teaching experience. Wandt (1952) found that in general teachers of elementary grades had a better attitude to parents. The connection between attitudes and age is a complex one. Goodacre (1970), with teachers of infants grades, found that the relationship of teacher's age and attitude were not significantly related although older teachers were more authoritarian than younger ones. She suggested that what may be important is not the teacher's age but rather the teacher's experience for until teachers are able to identify with the parent's role they will often fail in promoting closer relations with parents.

Taylor (1972) cautions that to attempt increased co-operation between parents and teachers without fully understanding the implications of such relationships may not be beneficial. As a priority he suggests that basic research needs to be carried out concerning the nature of a teacher's role. A number of recent studies have explored the behavioural aspects of the teacher's role, and role conceptions in relation to parents. Gibson (1970) found that primary and secondary teachers viewed their roles differently. Cohen (1970a, 1970b, 1971) investigated the role of the principal and found that the age and sex of the principal and the school size were related to role conceptions.

Musgrove and Taylor (1965) found considerable discrepancies between teacher's and parents conceptions of the teacher's role.

They found that the degree of role conflict for teachers was significantly related to the type of social area served by the school. Teachers in working-class areas were in higher conflict about their role as teachers than their colleagues in middle-class areas. In the working-class area the discrepancy increased between a teacher's ideal conception of his role and the perceived expectations of parents. Musgrove and Taylor believed that this may reflect a confusion of aims in schools in working-class areas which disturbs the relationships between parents and teachers and they concluded that unnecessary tension might be considerably reduced if parents and teachers established more effective means of communication.

Lortie (1975) also noted differences in teachers' attitudes to contact which he sees as related to the social status of the school's community. He describes a survey of teachers in the New England area of the U.S. and found that teachers reported seeing parents primarily when the teacher invited the parent to the school to discuss a student's problem. The study found that teachers wanted more contact with parents but they qualified that statement — they wanted to see parents when their children were having trouble in school and very few expressed interest in more interaction with the parents of successful students.

As well, Lortie notes some significant internal differences. In lower status schools most teachers wanted more contact with parents, compared with a small minority of teachers in higher-status schools. He observed that the problems teachers encounter with parents are different in the two contexts for in lower status schools, parents often fail to respond to teacher invitations to discuss the student whereas in the higher status schools, parents are likely to visit the school without invitation.

It has also been noted that there are many pressures, often not in harmony, influencing the teacher's role and that it must become more diffuse at a time when most professional roles are becoming more specialised. Wilson (1962) has argued that many social changes today pose acute problems especially for teachers. He claims that teachers must put more of themselves into their work at a time when other professionals may take a more neutral stance; that the demands made upon them become more diverse as they take over more of the duties of parents; and yet the requirements of the job, and particularly the criteria of success, are often ambiguous, conflicting and lacking in definition.

Lynch and Pimlott (1976 : 70) conclude their report with an observation that is critical to this whole discussion on the teacher's role and the many demands made on him particularly in relation to increased contact with parents.

> One most important teacher attitude to home-school relations emerged from all our discussions with teachers; if more time and effort is required from teachers in order to improve teacher-parent relationships and understanding, either more teachers will be required or

extra payment will have to be made. Most of the teachers expressed the view that society and parents were expecting them to play a greater social role, as distinct from a purely educational one, without recognising this increased responsibility in terms of more teachers, more pay or both.

Research on Involvement in Education in Australia

In recent years throughout Australia there has been an increasing recognition that parents and the community should be more closely involved in education. In the various states this had been the basis of reports such as *The School in Society* (1968) in Tasmania, *Education in South Australia* (1971), *A Design for the Governance and Organisation of Education in the A.C.T.* (1973) and *The Community and Its Schools* (1973 and 1974) in N.S.W. Also, at both the national and state levels the major political parties are committed to the policy of a more active role in education for parents and the community.

In particular, the reports of the Schools Commission (1973, 1975) have given considerable impetus to moves for greater participation in education. A detailed discussion of this aspect of the Reports is provided by Randell (1976) and Henry (1976), but in summary the Commission has favoured: greater devolution of responsibility to the school level to parents and teachers; greater interaction of schools with their communities; decisions made at the school level should be substantive rather than trivial; allocation of funds direct to the school to support the active participation of parents and to employ community liaison personnel.

While increased community involvement has generally attracted growing support there has been only limited research on the topic undertaken in Australia. In a West Australian study by Vlahov (1971) of contact between parents and teachers in a secondary school it was found that most communications were initiated by the parents and were about the classwork of their children. Parents and teachers rarely attended P & C meetings and rarely expected to meet out of school hours. However, the majority of teachers and parents expressed a desire for more parent-school contact but they differed in their opinions on the ways this might best be achieved. It was suggested that the relatively small amount of communication between parents and the school was due to the lack of a programme of parent-school communication, to the relative failure of teachers and parents to initiate contact, and to the high staff turnover.

Fee (1976) reports on an investigation conducted in 1974 and 1976 which surveyed sixty disadvantaged schools throughout all states regarding the nature and degree of parental involvement. The study found that between 1974 and 1976, with the school's participation in the Disadvantaged Schools Programme, more schools consulted parents on school rules and provided for parents to be involved in classroom activities. Teachers generally contacted parents on an informal basis, classroom visits by parents were not common, social meetings between parents and teachers were not usually held, and most schools (except in N.S.W.) held time-tabled individual interviews with parents.

One attempt to obtain the attitudes of parents to contact with teachers is reported by Zinkel (1976). The study surveyed over 250 parents in Canberra and Queanbeyan and the following were the more significant findings:

(i) Parents felt that they were not consulted enough by teachers. They were made to feel that the teacher was the expert and the opinions of the parents, as untrained persons, were not welcome.

(ii) Although many teachers reported that parents were free to visit at any time parents felt that they were seldom welcome without an appointment during school hours. Actual meeting times and a warm unhurried atmosphere were considered necessary for both parent and teacher to talk freely as neither open days, with crowds of parents visiting at the one time, nor short interviews were regarded as satisfactory.

(iii) In many schools, reports were sent home and parents invited to contact the teacher to discuss problems. However, parents felt unable to make an appointment merely to see the teacher and discuss the child if there was no obvious problem. Many parents felt the need to discuss their child's schooling with the school staff and wished to receive more information on modern developments.

In a study by Fitzgerald (1974) of the opinions of a sample of primary age pupils, their parents and teachers in the Warragul district of Victoria he found that there was a significant difference between what parents and teachers saw as the role of the school. Also, teachers welcomed regular visits by parents but did not favour parents having a voice in such key matters as curriculum, and only 25% of the teachers thought that they should consult parents before new courses and methods were introduced. While parents also supported this view, a large majority of students believed that their parents ought to have a say. Both teachers and parents believed that parents should be encouraged to visit the school regularly, however only a small minority of parents said they actually did so. Fitzgerald observed that perhaps this failure of parents to visit the school was one reason for a majority of teachers to conclude that parents showed very little interest in what happens at school.

To date, the major Australian study on community involvement in schools is that by Fitzgerald, Musgrove and Pettit which has been reported in a number of sources (Fitzgerald *et al.*, 1974 and 1976; Pettit, 1974a, 1974b and 1976; Fitzgerald, 1976). Funded by ERDC and the Poverty Commission the research was carried out between 1973 and 1975 in five Victorian secondary schools and studied the relationships between each school and its community. The project endeavoured to answer three basic questions: (i) Who participates in decision making in Victorian High Schools? (ii) How do they participate? (iii) In what areas of schooling do they participate?

The research found that there was only minimal influence exerted upon the school staff from the community regarding the school's organisation and

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programme. The community held strong role expectations of the principal and in many cases accepted his role of gatekeeper. Teachers considered themselves as specialists and were generally accepted as such. The following hypotheses were generally supported in the study: (i) the parents' association generally restricted its activities to fund raising, (ii) staff resented being directed by the community over what and how they taught, (iii) the parents themselves were unwilling to give advice on matters for which they considered they had no training, and (iv) almost all parent-teacher contact was school initiated.

Fitzgerald (1976 : 111) summarises the findings of this research and presents recommendations particularly in relation to involvement by disadvantaged communities. He notes that irrespective of legislative attempts to increase participation, the evidence suggests that there is little desire by the vast bulk of parents to become involved in the current arrangements for the management of schools.

> We believe that approaches which enable schools to become responsive and effective agencies for teaching and learning should not be dependent on formal representation of parents on school councils. . . . Parents need continuing advice and support if they are to make informed decisions about the education of their children. . . . We recommend that the Schools Commission, in association with State and Federal education departments, investigate the relationships between the school and the home in different cultural settings for the purpose of clarifying, describing and widely publicising the various strategies which bring about effective interaction. These strategies must, we believe, recognise the right of all parents to make decisions about the educational well-being of their children, to develop legitimate values in a free pluralist society, and to have some liberty of choice about the nature of schooling their children receive.

The Hills Education Study Group (King and Watson, 1976) conducted a survey of the attitudes to involvement of over 2,800 parents in the Pennant Hills area of Sydney. It found that most parents would like closer contact with teachers in order to find out more about how they can assist in their child's education. There was a strong opinion among the parents that school management and day-to-day classroom activities should be left to teachers. However, many parents were interested to be involved in more than the traditional fund-raising and P & C activities but were uncertain of the opportunities which existed for them to become further involved. A majority favoured more frequent contact and would be willing to join discussion groups to consider ways in which parents could become more involved.

Recent Developments in Involvement in New South Wales Schools

To a large extent consideration of community involvement in New South Wales since 1973 has been influenced by the publication "The Community and Its Schools". This was a working paper released for public discussion by the Minister for Education in 1973. It recommended against the establishment of a state-level representative Education Commission which had been strongly advocated by the Teachers' Federation. However, the paper proposed the establishment of school councils of teachers and a majority of parents with the councils having responsibilities for development and policies, advice to the principal, and management of school policy. The paper also proposed that councils might become involved in staff appointments.

There was wide resistance to these proposals. Generally the parents' view was that they did not wish to become involved in school management, and teachers held that the proposals impinged on their area of professional responsibility. The Teachers' Federation led the resistance to the recommendations of the consultative paper and took the stance that the proposed councils were a threat to the professionalism of teachers. The Federation's initial response set forth the argument it was to present during the following years.

> Apparently our work requires so little special expertise that he (the Minister) looks forward to the day when the local butcher, or his counterpart, will have a decisive say in hiring and firing teachers at the local school. (Editorial, 1973 : 150.)

It is possible that some of the strong views expressed by teachers gave incentive to parent groups to consider the Minister's paper in more detail and, with time, to arrive at a view somewhat at variance to that of the teachers' union. With time there would seem to have been an increasing number, particularly among members of parent associations, who agreed with Tom Roper's view (1974 : 508) that the Teachers' Federation had failed to present an argument as to why the butcher should not be involved. In Roper's view the Minister's proposals ". . . hardly justified the Federation's response which was one of: Who are these bloody parents?"

A Report (N.S.W. Department of Education, 1974) based on the response to the working paper was published in 1974. It rejected changes to the present system of teacher appointment, advocated increased decentralisation to Regions and made recommendations regarding membership and powers of the school boards. Again, there was opposition to the introduction of the boards and this continued even after July 1975 when the Minister announced a new, more flexible composition, although one which still retained majority representation for parent and community members.

While the debate regarding the proposals for school boards raged and then subsided there was a growing support by teachers for greater contact with parents at the individual school level. Some of this increased involvement has been directly related to innovations and disadvantaged schools' projects funded by the Schools Commission and to primary school special projects undertaken with State finance. Although it has not been surveyed, it would also seem that in most schools there is a keener realisation by staff of the need to improve contact with parents and this commitment is being realised by the introduction and strengthening of avenues to promote closer communication between home and school.

At the same time parent groups in New South Wales have developed a more definite policy regarding their participation in education and have combined with the Teachers' Federation to produce a combined statement on community involvement.

The 1976 annual conference of the N.S.W. Teachers' Federation endorsed a policy committed to ". . . developing a more meaningful parent and community role in each school". The policy states:

> The school should be an integral part of the community. The most desirable form of community involvement and participation embracing parents, teachers and students can only evolve in a continuing climate of mutual respect. It is essential that all interested parties . . . work together in the development of educational programmes for the school to achieve these objectives. (N.S.W. Teachers' Federation, 1976 : 67.)

However, the parent associations in the state have taken a more definite sta[illegible] in regard to involvement in education, particularly in regard to participation in decision-making. The current policy of the N.S.W. Federation of Infants' School Clubs (1976) states that parent organisations have the right to (i) open discussion on all matters relating to the school and its educational programmes, (ii) a participatory role in matters concerning the school, (iii) accountability from the Department of Education and all its officers on the expenditure of all funds available to the school, and (iv) an explanation from principals and mistresses should they reject advice from the school community.

The Federation of Parents' and Citizens' Associations (1976 : 7) recommends that ". . . it is the responsibility of the school principal and his staff to initiate positive actions to encourage parental participation in decision-making in education. . . . In order to ensure that school programmes reflect community needs school policies including aims, objectives and rules should be developed by consultation between parents, the principal, the school staff and students. It is essential that the parent body, together with the school, share responsibility with the principal in making effective administrative decisions on (a) the expenditure of funds available for the school, (b) the physical and educational needs of the school, and (c) the after hours use of school facilities."

A Survey of Parent-Teacher Contact in N.S.W.

As the foregoing review of Australian data has shown, there is a minimum of objective information available here on many aspects of parent-teacher contact. The broad objectives of the present study, which we undertook in mid-1976, were to provide some systematic evidence about parent-teacher contact in New South Wales government schools and to explore the teacher's position as it concerns his relations with parents. The investigation attempted to gather data on the following:

1. **What provision is made by schools for involvement by the community?**
2. **To what extent does the community make use of the various avenues provided by the school for contact?**
3. **How satisfied are teachers with this involvement?**
4. **What are teachers' attitudes to community participation in education?**

Sample

Questionnaires were sent to a sample of teachers in government primary and secondary schools and sought details, generally by use of checklists and multiple-choice questions, on the nature and amount of present contact between the school and the home and on the teachers' attitudes. Some biographical data were also obtained.

Three separate samples were drawn:

(i) school counsellors (sampled on location and type of secondary school)
(ii) principals (sampled on location, type and size of school)
(iii) teachers (sampled state-wide).

It was considered that as the principal and the school counsellor may have unique roles in regard to contact with parents that the sample should allow for adequate representation of these two positions.

Details of the sample and of the questionnaires returned are given in Table 2.

TABLE 2

SAMPLE

QUESTIONNAIRES

	N Despatched	*N Returned*	*Response Rate*	*N Incomplete*	*N Analysed*	*Proportion Analysed*
Counsellors	62	51	82%	6	45	73%
Principals	102	89	87%	5	84	82%
Teachers	251	200	80%	16	184	73%

Provision by the School for Contact with Parents

It was found that 93% of schools had a P & C Association, with a Mothers' Club at 40% of schools, an Auxiliary at 14% and parent committees at 7%. Teachers reported on the total number of meetings of parent groups (P & C, Mothers' Club, etc.) that they had attended in 1976, and 39% indicated they had not attended a meeting, 16% attended 1 or 2, 13% attended 3 or 4, 29% attended 6 to 15, and 3% attended more than 15 meetings.

The questionnaire asked respondents to indicate what activities for parents had been conducted at the school during the year. Table 3 details their responses.

TABLE 3

SCHOOLS OFFERING ACTIVITIES FOR PARENTS

	% of Respondents
Newsletter for parents produced by a parent organisation	39
Newsletter for parents prepared by the school	83
Written reports on the child's progress sent home to the parents	82
A social function for parents and teachers organised by parents	39
A social function for parents and teachers organised by the school	40
After school clubs or classes for parents	19
School activities to which parents are invited (e.g. concerts, assemblies)	83
Special meetings of teachers and parents organised by the school (e.g. parent nights)	82
A special meeting for parents of children new to the school	39
Talks for parents on the sex education or Personal Development programme	35
Parents visiting classes during the day to see them in operation	33

Parents Assist Teacher and the School

Table 4 indicates the ways in which parents assisted the school during the year.

TABLE 4

WAYS IN WHICH PARENTS ASSIST SCHOOLS

	% of Respondents
Working as voluntary teachers' aides	46
Acting as resource persons for curriculum topics	41
Providing advice for curriculum development in the school	10
Helping in class excursions	88
Providing careers' information	8
Assisting with sport and P.E.	60
Helping in the canteen	73
Providing voluntary clerical assistance in the school office or library	40
Helping to form school rules	15
Caring for school grounds	73
Fund raising	98
Pressure group on local and state government	3
Assist in planning the school	2
Transporting pupils	1
Taking scripture lessons	1
Assisting in school socials	2
Organising visits for class	1
Making equipment	3

Degree of Parent-Teacher Contact

One means of quantifying the amount of home-school contact is to see the number of ways in which parents and teachers may communicate in any one school. This has been detailed in Tables 3 and 4. Another aspect to consider is the number of parents whom the teacher meets. In Table 5 this is expressed as a proportion — for teachers it represents the ratio of parents met during 1976 to the total number of parents of all children taught, and for counsellors, principals and teachers in non-teaching positions it is the ratio of parents met during 1976 to the number of parents of all children at the school.

TABLE 5

PROPORTION OF PARENTS MET DURING 1976 BY COUNSELLOR, PRINCIPALS AND TEACHERS

	Mothers Met by Teacher					
	0	1%-25%	25%-50%	50%-75%	75%-99%	100%
Counsellors	51%	46%		3%		
Principals	5%	30%	29%	16%	6%	14%
Teachers	15%	35%	14%	14%	11%	11%

	Fathers Met by Teacher					
	0	1%-25%	25%-50%	50%-75%	75%-99%	100%
Counsellors	93%	4%	3%			
Principals	7%	52%	23%	3%	2%	13%
Teachers	26%	56%	10%	5%	1%	2%

Reasons Parents Contact Teachers

Respondents were asked to indicate the topics which had been of most concern to parents in discussions with them during the year. Table 6 gives a ranking of the topic seen as the most concern by counsellors, principals and teachers.

TABLE 6

RANKING OF TOPIC SEEN AS OF MOST CONCERN TO PARENTS

	Ranking		
	Counsellors	*Principals*	*Teachers*
The school curriculum			
Homework		5	6
Teaching methods			
The child's classwork	2	1	1
The teachers at the school			
Examinations and methods of assessment	5		4
Discipline			
The child's future	3	4	3
Relations between the child and the teacher		6	5
Condition of the school buildings		2	
Attendance and punctuality			
The child's inhibitions, emotional problems	1	3	2
The child's problems at home	4		
Problems of child and peers			
Learning problems	6		
Referral agencies			
Child's health			
School's organisation			
Fund raising			

While Table 6 may isolate the topic seen as of most concern it was considered that in reality parents often raise a number of issues at the same time with the teacher. Therefore the survey asked respondents to also indicate the three issues of most importance to parents. In this way, from Table 7, we are able to obtain some indication of the interrelationships between these issues as reported by persons at different levels of the teaching service.

TABLE 7

RESPONDENTS NOMINATING ISSUE AS ONE OF THE THREE OF MOST CONCERN TO PARENTS

	Percentage of Respondents		
	Counsellors	*Principals*	*Teachers*
The school curriculum	0	14	13
Homework	9	27	38
Teaching methods	2	10	13
The child's classwork	64	67	72
The teachers at the school	4	7	3
Examinations and methods of assessment	2	28	23
Discipline	33	15	22
The child's future	53	22	30
Relations between the child and the teacher	22	23	12
Condition of the school buildings	0	29	1
Attendance and punctuality	7	5	8
The child's inhibitions, emotional problems	80	43	42
The child's problems at home	20	0	1
Problems of child and peers	0	0	1
Learning problems	2	1	0
Referral agencies	2	0	0
Child's health	0	0	2
School's organisation	0	0	0
Fund raising	0	1	0

Teacher Opinion of Contact with Parents

The questionnaire contained Likert-type scales on which teachers indicated their response to statements by checking either Strongly Agree, Agree, Uncertain, Disagree, or Strongly Disagree. Some of the items sought to obtain the teachers' views on some specific types of parent involvement. In the following table the Strongly Agree and Agree responses have been combined, as have those for Disagree and Strongly Disagree. The data are from the combined total sample of counsellors, principals and teachers.

TABLE 8

TEACHER OPINION ON SPECIFIC ASPECTS OF CONTACT WITH PARENTS

	% *Agree*	% *Uncertain*	% *Disagree*
*More lessons should be held outside the school	75	11	14
*Parents should raise funds for the school	58	11	31

(Table 8 continued overleaf)

TABLE 8 *Continued*

TEACHER OPINION ON SPECIFIC ASPECTS OF CONTACT WITH PARENTS

	% *Agree*	% *Uncertain*	% *Disagree*
*Newsletters and bulletins from the school are effective in making parents interested in the school	54	20	26
*Parents should assist teachers in class as voluntary aides	43	21	36
*Regular timetabled periods should be set aside for teachers to meet with parents	63	11	26
*Parents should be allowed to visit classes during the day to see them in operation	54	17	29
*There have been no serious problems when parent or community groups have used the school's facilities	70	19	11
*Parents should help in forming school rules	37	20	43
*The P & C Association is generally effective in achieving better relations between parents and teachers	38	23	39
*Parent organisations at a school should be used to help solve school problems	49	19	32
*Parents have difficulty in coming to the school to meet the teacher	58	14	28
*The teacher should visit parents in their homes to discuss the child	41	14	45

Besides surveying teacher opinion of specific forms of contact the questionnaire also obtained responses which might indicate more basic views about home-school relations in general. These are presented in the following table.

TABLE 9

TEACHER OPINION ON CONTACT WITH PARENTS

	% *Agree*	% *Uncertain*	% *Disagree*
*Parents should become more involved in education than they are at present	77	9	14
*An increase in the present parent participation in education would benefit the pupil	65	20	15
*Parents should receive more information about their child's education	76	10	14
*Teachers should do more to improve communication with parents	77	7	16
*Parents feel overawed and confused by educational matters	61	15	24
*Most parents prefer to have a minimum of contact with teachers	52	15	33
*Teachers are able to alter parents' attitudes to education	54	23	23
*Parents who come to the school to see the teacher are generally there to complain	27	7	66
*Most teachers have little contact with the local community	50	4	46

Conclusion

Results from this survey would suggest that there is general support among teachers in New South Wales government schools for closer home-school relations and for teachers to play an active role in effecting this goal. Teachers held the view that generally parents are interested in the education of their child, that they are confused by aspects of education, they they prefer a minimum of contact with teachers and that they have difficulty in visiting the school.

There was support for more involvement of parents with class activities and teachers felt that the parent groups at the school should be more active. However the present effectiveness of the school's P & C Association to increase home-school contact was questioned. While teachers supported closer contact with parents at the class level they were reluctant to approve any parent involvement beyond this into school policy.

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SOME OBSERVATIONS ON COMMUNITY EDUCATION AND SCHOOLS

C. F. CAVE

The main thrust of this paper derives from the awareness of the variety of provisions for the education of adults found in Victoria. There is an underlying belief that no other state in Australia offers such a variety of activity — government-sponsored and voluntary — so many alternative avenues of access to renewed and recurrent learning, such a broad spectrum of educational experience and free and independent organisations, agencies, institutions and groups, nor such a relaxed and decentralised (perhaps confused and unco-ordinated) super-structure for the education of adults.

Central to this provision is the Council of Adult Education, the only remaining independent, statutory authority for adult education which also has a major providing role. In the Council is embodied the philosophy of "alternatives" which under-pins the whole movement.

The Council of Adult Education has a statutory role under the Education Act of advising the Minister of Education on, and planning and supervising the administration and development of, "adult education in Victoria".[1]

Beyond this, it sees its prime function as facilitating the provision of an alternative to the formal school system. That is alternative policies, programs, venues, teaching, attitudes. It endeavours to provide an alternative (and a supplement) to traditional "evening classes", "night school", "Technical School hobby classes", to the Decoration Game, the "paper-credit" syndrome, to vocationally-oriented full-time study. These alternatives are based in approaches, programs, attitudes, responses to the needs of adults as adults, which recognise that these are special needs.

Ultimately, it endeavours, where it can, to provide some view of the opportunities of an alternative society and life-styles, some remediation for those whom the school system has not served well, some opportunities for self-actualisation for those whom society has neglected, alienated or depressed, some options against the values and standards of a technocratic society which is itself both the product and the consumer of the formal school system.

In fine, its function is to provide the community with a set of options to "schooling", based on a specific attention to and an understanding of those who have left or are outside the school system. It is an organisation of resources the first and only priority of which is the continuous education of adults as very special people. This priority does not have to find its place amongst or against other more urgent internal priorities — unlike the Universities, the Colleges, the Education Department, the Technical Division, whose first priorities lie with professional training, the schooling of children, training and retraining for the workforce.

What's in a name?

It is in this singular attention to the needs of adults, implicit in Council's very name, that its role in society is to be found. We have these days a collection of other non-specific terms — legitimate alternatives based in the concept of continuous learning — "further education", "continuing education", "life-long education", "recurrent education", "education permanente", and the ubiquitous "community education" (as if we educated communities rather than individuals). Whilst these terms adequately describe aspects of the process, none describes institutional function and role. "Adult education", meanwhile, has a Cartesian clarity and distinctness.

Knowles[2]:

> "For many years it was assumed that the principles and techniques that were used in the education of children would be equally effective in helping adults to learn. People were therefore recruited to direct institutional programs of adult education on the basis of having had experience in directing programs of youth education; teachers of children were recruited as teachers of adults; and it was taken for granted that any reasonably well-educated person would know how to do a good job as program chairman or study group leader of a voluntary organisation.
>
> "But as knowledge accumulated both from experience and from research in adult education and related social sciences, it became increasingly apparent that an adult was more than just a grown-up child, that he possessed certain unique characteristics as a learner that required different principles and techniques from those employed with children."

Whilst few of us would wish to adopt Knowles' term "andragogy"[3] (as distinct from "pedagogy"), we do recognise with him that the education of adults, particularly those returning to study, is a specialised and distinct business, in many ways a particular discipline, and that the existence of an organisation charged with that business is vital to a total and universal education system.

Life-long Learning

It is universally accepted as a truism that education is a life-long process; that the individual has not only a right to an education continuing throughout life but also a need, a need based in the constant and accelerating change which is characteristic of the technological, post-industrial society. Education is a continuing process, the thresholds of which are Birth and Death. The formal school system is now merely a part of the total educational process, barely an introduction to it, hardly indeed, in many cases, a satisfactory preparation for it.

There is nothing new about life-long learning itself; people have been at it for a very long time. What is new, perhaps, is a growing recognition of the consequences of actually accepting the concept. The UNESCO Faure Report *Learning to Be* has done much to encourage this recognition. The Report makes it clear that the ramifications reach not only throughout the educational system from top to bottom, but into the home, the work-place, the neighbourhood, the media, into work and recreation, into all our largely-self-perpetuating social institutions. They lead ultimately to a reshaping of the educational system and a redistribution of its resources. They lead to a serious re-thinking of our social directions.

The late Henry Schoenheimer[4] has some interesting observations to make about the directions toward which a too-ready acceptance of the outerface of *Learning to Be* might lead us. He brings home the fact that the rethinking of our social objectives and directions must be a continuous process amongst those who institute change, if we are not to perpetuate our competitive/acquisitive culture.

A Learning Society

Implicit in the concept of life-long education is that of a Learning Society — a society in which all individuals are continuously or on a recurrent basis engaged in learning, either through formal or informal group activity or through self-directed private programs; either through consciously planned and directed educational experiences or through involuntary and haphazard influences; either through a cognitive process or through affective learning.

It is a society in which work itself as seen as a learning experience; where provision is made for recurrent learning activity of formal and informal kinds to be co-existent with work; where recreation is also recognised as a learning experience; where the broad spectrum of education, sequential or otherwise, from teacher-centred to computer-delivered programs, from large group single lectures to private, self-devised learning experiences, is available to all.

It is society which recognises that the totality of its learning is directed toward the self-actualisation of individuals, the humanisation of work, and its own democratisation; a society in which continuous formal schooling and initial vocational training are recognised as merely components of the total of life's larger learning activity, and where the school is simply one of a large number of diverse, widely spread and interrelated educational resources.

The Teaching Society

But the Learning Society is more than one in which individuals continually learn; it is also one in which they teach. It is a society engaged in the process of its own self-education, where the total educational resources need to be used on a shared basis by all.

The teaching resources upon which the continuously Learning Society depends no longer lie only with the "professionals" (in fact, they never have). Nor do the organisational resources lie only within the formal system. We are coming to articulate only now what we have always known — that, whilst there is a body of recognised professional educationalists and organisers, the major amount of teaching and learning amongst both children and adults is done outside the classroom, in their own time, by their own initiative.

There has been, for instance, the rapid and comparatively recent growth of a complex matrix of ground-level alternative education, stemming from the principles of the Faure Report, Friere, Illich and Reimer, from dissatisfactions with the traditional school and out-of-school educational provision, and from the raising of the level of social consciousness of the community under the extraordinary provisions of the Commonwealth Government in recent years. This alone has clearly demonstrated that a stockpile of education resource, both physical and human, exists within the community outside the formal educational institutions.

Whilst the larger formal educational system has, from the top of the mountain, been endeavouring to adjust to changing community demands too rapid for it to contain, the community itself particularly in Victoria, from the ground up, has started to develop its own organised alternatives, often out of impatience and frustration.

Whilst the universities have endeavoured, as yet unsuccessfully, to adjust to the growing tide of part-time and mature-age students; whilst the colleges have endeavoured, again without much success, to cope with the community demand for an alternative tertiary system of a distinctive kind; whilst the centralised school system, with some little success, has endeavoured to adjust to demands for decentralisation, regionalisation, "participation" and parent power; whilst formal adult education agencies have struggled to throw off the shackles of tradition that kept them from moving into a wider community; and whilst the whole system has endeavoured to cope with demands for new kinds of courses, new approaches to teaching and new attitudes to individual needs, there has sprung into being a whole variety of small and often self-staring alternative operations. They tend to have a strong base in community participation and personal responsibility. They provide an opportunity for personal involvement not found in the formal system.

These learning centres, learning exchanges, community care centres, home-teaching networks, community schools, continuing education centres, voluntary teaching networks, literacy groups, women's education programs, ethnic networks, discussion circles, and so on, call, for the most part, on a new kind of educational resource. They demonstrate the potential of ordinary men and women within the community to provide a teaching and organisational resource barely recognised in the past. They also call upon the expertise and the physical and human resources of the traditional institutions, redistributing them to more nearly meet community needs.

This resource is to be found, not merely in the bringing into being of "community advisory councils" and other forms of citizen or parent involvement in decision-making, but in the engagement of men and women from all walks of life in the total educational task.

It is this engagement of individuals in the total task, from in-put to out-put, which is the most fruitful learning experience, whether in education or at the work face. The meaningfulness of "community education" lies in the education of individuals in the meaning of "community". This is best found in the developing learning experience of shared involvement in and shared personal responsibility for the total common task — the conception, design and detailed implementation of the educational program.

Here we have community action and interaction, a break-down of the isolation of traditional institutions from the community, and a bridging of the dichotomy between "the professionals" and "the others" which is at the very root of the concept of the Learning/Teaching Society. Implicit in it is the recognition that the available educational resource of society is to be found in all sections of the community. The educating and organising role belongs, not merely to the formal school system, but to parents, community groups, churches, service club, libraries, government departments, voluntary agencies, the media, employers in commerce and industry, professional organisations, Trade Unions — men and women throughout the community at large.

So that the educational facilities need to be built-in where people are, not merely in large centralised school and college campuses and complexes, but scattered throughout our new suburbs, in housing settlements, civic centres, hospitals, prisons, the work place, and so on. Individuals in the community may then make use of them by their own initiative. "Schools" and "colleges" so-called may well find their needed physical resources already existing and scattered within the community.

"Community Use of Schools"?

It is in the context of the Learning Society that we need to look at the role of the school in the education of adults.

With growing community consciousness of the inadequate use of its own vast investment in the capital resources of schools, there has been increasing agitation in recent years for schools to be thrown open for general use. The obvious way to use them up is to let the adults in when the kids are out. But how best to do that?

The growing impetus of the "community use of schools" movement accepts as fundamental that school resources should be common property — part of the shared resources of the Learning Society — whilst begging the question of whether schools need such resources in the first place; whether, that is (if economy is the issue), the school should be using the resources of the community rather than vice versa.

But, more important, it needs to be asked whether the school is an appropriate venue and resource for community, particularly adult, activity.

Beare[5]:

> "We discovered that the current fashion in education — the "community use of schools" — does not go at all far enough. We need to be less complacent and to extrapolate from this fashion, to treat it merely as a trend and not as an end of the road, and see what style of education it shadows forth once we are able to think beyond the constraints imposed on us by past buildings and passé thinking."

The Rationale

Almost universally, the rationale behind the "back to school" thing is based in the needs of schools — or children, teachers, principals, the Administration, with little or no reference to the needs of the adults. And it is adults who make up the vast majority of the "community" which is to be enticed back to the classroom. Nor, at least in our own environment, is there given any real attention to or understanding of what is already going on in the education of adults, where it is taking place, and why.

The concept of "community use of schools", as expressed locally, is essentially school — rather than community-oriented. Let me quote an "official" definition:

> "Community education is a process that concerns itself with everything that affects the well-being of all the citizens within a given community . . . The Community school provides an operational base for the co-ordination of all the services that the community can provide under the supervision of a special faculty member known as the community education officer/co-ordinator/director . . . the services of various other institutions and agencies are co-ordinated by relating the agency programs to the school . . . Community Education Officer is a professional faculty member with the responsibility of being a catalyst to cause or allow the needs of the community to be met at or through the schools."

The concept of the school as an umbrella community resource, an "operational base", "relating agency programs" to itself (instead of vice versa, for instance), "co-ordinating", "supervising", "allowing", through "special faculty members" called, inter alia, "directors", would appear to be the very antithesis of the general thrust of the Learning Society, and, for that matter, of a genuine "community education".

Centralising Resources

Apart from paternalistic and bureaucratic overtones, the concept of the community school, is, like its sister concept "the community college", a strongly centralising process. True, such a process may assist administrative ease within the centralised system, but it is not the needs of the centralised system which are at stake. True, steps may be taken toward the involvement of special individuals within the community to be engaged in the decision-making process. But this is a tokenism which militates against the involvement of the general community of men and women in the total educational exercise, so long as the educational resources within the community increasingly come under the control of the school administration itself.

Whilst the community school movement may stem from the overt desire of the centralised system to decentralise itself into semi-autonomous regions and schools, it is nevertheless a centralising force within the local community. It can only lead to the development of larger, more centralised and, in that sense, more distant school complexes; to greater and more distant control of community resources; to the channelling of limited educational funds and resources away from ground-level networks and into the formal system; to the diversion of initiative from more community-oriented agencies such as local government; and to the withering, almost at bud, of the possibilities of individual involvement and private responsibility within the whole educational spectrum. Public advisory committees are not going to break down that syndrome.

The development of the school as a central resource merely reinforces the general thrust of the technological revolution toward institutionalisation.

Schoenheimer[6]*:*

> "Just as the industrial revolution pulled the father out of the home, leaving the mother to bring up a much less masculine type of placid domesticated worker (like us); so now the technological revolution is pulling the mother out of the home and turning the child over to institutional and professional ministrations in order to develop (not necessarily by anyone's conscious planning) the kind of creature who expects professional and institutional care rather than parental and human love and concern."

The development of formidable centralised school resources as venues for the activity of adults is only to heighten the general dependency of individuals within the community upon institutionalised forms rather than their own inner resources. Given the appropriate opportunity and a supportive educational environment, these inner resources are seen to flourish. The growth of a strongly materialistic culture within and through the women's learning centre movement, led in Victoria by Diamond Valley and Nunawading Learning Centres, is surely a demonstration of present adult needs for "warmth", "caring", "consideration", "concern", "responsiveness", "growth of confidence", etc. as a legitimate alternative to institutionalised attitudes, pre-conceived programs, regimentation, prohibitions, lack of personal identification and (therefore) development.

These social limitations of the school as an appropriate venue for mass adult activity are a reflection of its physical and psychological limitations.

Beare[7]*:*

> "The school which is set out as an amenity for children during the day and turned over to community use when not required by the school maintains those symbolical boundaries between the school and the community I have spoken of (the distance from the footpath, the fence, the children, the curricular concertina, the artificial learning situation, the authoritarianism, the 'Head Master', etc.) . . .
>
> Any school sitting in the middle of its own fenced-off property maintains the symbolic boundaries."

In the long run, the school will be a facility for those who are able to cross both the physical and psychological barriers, who are strongly motivated enough (well-educated enough?) to set aside or accept the limitations of being an adult hand in a kid glove. They turn out to be that section of society which already finds a home in existing adult education programs, arts groups, service clubs, etc.

For the rest of society, human, physical and financial resources will still need to be implanted and scattered throughout the neighbourhood in a variety of accessible venues under a variety of forms of community control.

This may well entail some redistribution of resources at present existing within the formal system. Certainly the increasing excess of teaching/organisational resources in the school system with which we are faced currently may be directed outward to community services under forms of community control. The possibilities of this redistribution and its benefits to "community education" and community life are to be seen, for instance, in the independent, community-operated, but departmentally-supported Continuing Education Centres in Victorian country towns.

Qualitative Differences

It is a matter of the qualitative differences that one would hope to find between the school during the day and its community school identity at night, based on a genuine recognition of the qualitative differences between adults and kids.

On the one hand, there has to be a singular readiness of the school to recognise adults as adults (rather than grown-up children) with special needs, aptitudes and capacities for responsibility which the school, physically and administratively, was not originally designed. Where the "community use of the school" has been a genuine and successful exercise in the education of adults in the meaning of "community", it has only been through the readiness of the school to put aside its child-oriented controls and restrictions, its physical and administrative inhibitions, its traditional, time-tables, curricula and lock-step procedures, its protective mechanisms, and its traditional (and often barely-concealed) mistrust of the capacity of adults to act with intelligence, responsibility and care.

Where it has not, we have surely been simply reinforcing attitudes and relationships ("the hidden curriculum") — acceptance of institutionalisation, patronage and impersonal control — which the very concept of "community education" is designed to break down.

On the other hand, by implanting the new financial and human resources and initiatives within the existing formal, centralised school system instead of outside it, we are reinforcing that system at a time when large sections of the community are endeavouring to shrug it off, or, at least, find alternatives to it.

The driving force for a community education which reshapes the system to meet more nearly community needs (as "community education" surely must) should be encouraged to come directly from the community itself and will be inhibited so long as it emanates from within the system. By centralising resources and initiatives in and through the schools, we may well divert resources away from those for whom the schools hold no attraction and who have most need of an alternative system, and divert attention and independence from the expanding alternative system which already exists.

The forces of change and the pressures for redistribution of resources, physical, human and financial, do not come effectively from within the system itself. The system is, naturally, self-protective and self-perpetuating. The most effective pressures will come from outside.

The result is already that we have a concept of "community education" centred not so much upon the needs of the community as adults but increasingly upon the needs of the school and its administration, not so much reinforcing the capacity of the community to reshape the system but of reinforcing the system to control the community.

What "community use of schools" must entail in practice, if it is not to be a mere diversion and redistribution of existing resources and programs into the schools, is a reshaping of the school system — a reshaping of its physical resources, a recasting of its administrative structure, a rethinking of its attitudes, and an active reappraisal of its role.

What it requires in individual schools and the system at large is a particular and positive receptivity to both challenge and change.

Conclusion

None of this is to deny the importance and the potential of the "back to school" movement in the education of adults. It is merely to try to put the movement into some kind of perspective, to see it against the background of a desirable future, of adult needs, of community role, of current alternative provisions and possibilities. It is merely to suggest that we might sit down and look at the whole meaning of the thing before we rush headlong into a future which none of us may really desire.

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THE COMMUNITY AND HIGHER EDUCATION

R. D. McMullen

Introduction

In this paper I have taken higher education to mean post-school education because I have included those forms of education which do not require the successful completion of secondary education as the entry standard. In this sense higher education provides the levels of education and disciplines needed for entry to the professions and para-professions, the theoretical and practical skills required by technicians and tradesmen and also the basis for the useful pursuit of leisure. It would be limiting to the development of the paper and its discussion if higher education was viewed in a narrower sense.

Education, as distinct from the pursuit of knowledge, cannot develop in isolation. Education involves people and in addition to providing them with knowledge it influences their development. An educated community is very different from an uneducated one materially and socially. Education can contribute to the community by making it more informed, by raising its living standards and by assisting it to use its leisure gainfully for both pleasure and personal growth.

Public education was once a one way process by which the community was the docile recipient of what education had to offer. This was the case when education involved two groups, the taught and the teachers, and knowledge was absorbed by rote and according to rules. Education for our times involves much more than this and for maximum efficiency it must receive an input from the community in order to gauge the effeciveness of the process, and to ensure that it is meeting the community's various needs.

The community is involved with education at all levels and the form it takes varies considerably. This involvement may be productive or counter-productive, be informed or ill informed, representative or unrepresentative. In other words, it may be constructive or destructive. Likewise a disinterested community, in the long run, may be completely destructive in withholding an important element of the education process.

Higher education may be influenced indirectly by community pressures generating political policies. Education impinges on everyone and in reacting to it people often make demands or exert influences based on emotion rather than sound judgement. I believe the community gets the kind of education it deserves. This premise gains credence the more one perceives how ill informed, biased so-called public opinion can and does create pressures which determine political policies for education.

Community involvement in all things is a popular catch cry but it can be a hollow sentiment if the community will not seek useful involvement, is unable to contribute or seeks to apply stultifying restraints.

Community involvement in any form of education must be on an informed and understanding basis otherwise it can do untold harm. In other words it should not be taken as a blind act of faith that community involvement is necessarily good or even desirable. So much depends on the form it takes. Nor should it be assumed that the majority of people are anxious to improve their education or are even interested in education of any kind.

Higher Education

(a) *Its Purpose*

Many high sounding phrases have been uttered in relation to higher education and the benefits it will bring to the individual who obtains it. When one gets down to basics there seems to be little doubt that the prime purpose is to prepare its recipients for a job. With few exceptions the courses provided are vocational and are usually designed to meet specific community needs.

Press comments and Government statements over many years have made it clear that the community expects substantial benefits in the form of trained people suitable to enter all levels of the workforce leading to greater industrial and commercial efficiency in return for the large sums being spent on higher education. In more recent times the same agencies have been questioning the value of the return the community is getting from the education dollar.

In all of this debate little or no mention is made of the many other benefits which may come from higher education. The theme is espoused only by educationists and a few far-sighted individuals on the grounds that modern technology is tending to make many workers redundant and that shorter working hours will make the useful pursuit of leisure a more important element in our lives. Education for leisure and retirement should receive more wide-ranging support. Unfortunately the support given by the educationists is questioned by the present mood of the press and Government on the grounds of their vested interests in keeping enrolment numbers up and the desire to maintain their empires.

The answers to questions regarding higher education depends very much upon who asks the questions of whom and at what time. There are many answers, all true, according to whatever guide lines one adopts for the questioning and the needs of those providing the answers.

In general terms the present view of most people would be that the purpose of higher education is to provide a wide range of vocationally trained people in sufficient numbers to keep the wheels of commerce, industry and Government turning efficiently. As a corollary it also can be considered as providing the means, for those capable of completing higher education, of attaining material and social advancement. To a lesser extent it meets the liberal educational and personal growth needs of its recipients.

(b) *Vocational Training*

The community's material well-being depends very much on the goods and services available to it. These goods and services can be created only if an adequate and competent workforce exists to work in the facilities which produce them.

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Arguments are often advanced by intellectuals and others that higher education institutions should not concern themselves with the production of industrial fodder or place any limits on the free choices of courses by students. Unfortunately for this philosophy, the wheels of industry cannot be kept turning or essential services be provided by a race of thinkers and philosophers. Society as we know it, and even the proposed variations of it, cannot function without substantial industry fodder. Also it will not function satisfactorily if we have an over supply of some categories of workers and shortages of others.

It may be argued, with good reason, that absolute freedom of choice in courses, as well as not being in the best interests of the community, is not in the best interests of the individual. Not everybody wants to live off the land in communes and as people need to eat, money appears the best way to purchase needs. Work of a congenial kind, suiting the attributes of the individual provides the person with more than a weekly pay envelope.

I believe it can be shown that a significant proportion of vocational education is training and not particularly educational. Efficient training can produce expert but relatively uneducated practitioners of specific roles. These people are a variety of industry fodder about which we should have general concern.

Teaching people to think and develop logical processes of reasoning is the most important element of education. When vocational training of any kind encourages the students or participants to think and exercise their powers of reason then it can be called vocational education.

We hear, so often, that the knowledge explosion is increasing the body of knowledge available to us at an enormous rate. We are also told that the explosion is rendering much of what is being taught obsolete by the time the student graduates or very soon after. Admittedly the student benefits from his studies even though the subject matter is heading for early obsolencence because of the foundation he is constructing on which further knowledge may be built.

Attention should be given to revising the approach to higher education, particularly in the technologies, so it is more concerned with the inculcation of basic principles and the development of the students' faculties of reasoning through the solution of problems rather than the accumulation of facts which may or may not have further value. A valuable part of higher education should be the training of students in the use of libraries and the methods of information retrieval. All practitioners have reference libraries available to them from which they can retrieve the facts they require.

With more emphasis on the development of the powers of logical reasoning and less on the accumulation of facts, courses could be designed to give students the benefit of a good vocational education as distinct from an excellent training. It should not be forgotten that life-long education is becoming more and more important in all pursuits and particularly for the professions, it is now essential for their members if they are to keep up to date with their science and learning.

(c) *Liberal Education*

Man has progressed a long way from the caveman days due to the development of his vocational skills. I don't think that the material progress he has made has been helped or hindered by whatever liberal education he may have gathered on the way. One can see, even now, many examples and illustrations of people doing their jobs and pursuing their life styles without the benefit of a liberal education. Indeed it would appear that the master craftsmen of all ages who produced many of the world's treasures developed their manipulative skills and insights without the benefit of formal education.

It could be argued that man can exist and even progress without the benefit of highly developed art, literature, music, drama and dance. Nevertheless it is interesting to note that societies including the most primitive develop their own simple culture of folklore, music and dance to fill some demanding need they must feel.

Modern society is so complex that it makes many more and greater demands on its members than is the case in simpler societies. There is much more to living than acquiring adequate food and shelter. The complexity has been increasing at a greater rate than the members of the community seem to be able to develop means of coping with the increasing tension and pressures that result. It would appear that people in addition to being trained in the techniques of modern society should also be educated to cope with the mental and physical demands imposed upon them. This consequential education should relate to the philosophical and social issues concerned with man and his environment.

Methods of production involving greater automation are becoming more capital intensive and less dependent on labour than previously. The answer to excess labour appears to lie in reduced working hours in preference to the alternative of supporting a large band of unemployed. Whatever system is evolved it seems obvious that leisure time will increase substantially.

Many people do not appear to be able to cope with excessive leisure and become involved in all sorts of anti-social activities just for something to do. They appear aimlessly to be looking for kicks and excitement to fill in their spare time. Problems of this kind appear to be increasing and will continue to do so unless steps are taken to teach people to make use of and enjoy their leisure time. Hopefully, studies in the liberal arts together with the acquisition of manipulative or scholarly disciplines would enrich individuals and create in them greater awareness of the world, its people, their problems and environment enabling them to anticipate difficulties before they arise and develop strategies to cope with them.

The benefits of a liberal education will not be conferred on the community immediately. We must beware of the usual ad hoc approach to educational problems, the curse so often cast on educational planning and development. All too often the plan is to wait for the inevitable to happen then, following loud protests from all and sundry, to take steps to patch up the damage in the least efficient manner without attempting to arrive at a solution to the initial problem or even to do any forward planning.

We should actively be planning now education programmes designed to raise the sights of the community. No doubt it will be claimed, with reason, that these programmes will be futile for mature age groups who are set in their ways and thinking. Nevertheless good results should be expected for the younger age groups engaged in such programmes and not all mature age people are ossified.

What I am saying is that higher education, at all levels, should not be exclusively vocational. I see nothing incompatible between vocational and liberal education and believe vocational courses should be developed with significant elements of the liberal arts as a leavening.

The Administration of Higher Education

Higher education embraces three distinct streams namely, University, College of Advanced Education and Technical and Further Education. Even though these streams are distinct, their adjoining boundaries are blurred and overlapping of their spheres of influence occur. In the matter of their administration Universities, C.A.E.s and TAFE vary significantly. Universities have a long tradition of independence which is defended with considerable fervour if any assault real or imaginary is made on it. Within the funds provided Universities enjoy considerable freedom of autonomy. Each is controlled by its Council or Senate and is responsible for its own academic standards, awards and post-graduate programmes. The University is the employer of all its staff. Each College of Advanced Education is controlled by its Council and enjoys a large degree of autonomy. This autonomy is more limited than that available to Universities. The Colleges are subject to State Co-ordinating Boards of Advanced Education, established by State legislature, for the approval of courses and awards, campus planning, capital and recurrent funding levels and staffing schedules. The C.A.E.s can hire and fire staff, sign contracts and employ architects and campus planners but must work within the above restraints.

Technical and Further Education Colleges are owned and operated by the State. They are controlled from a central organisation presided over by a Director who is either responsible to the State Director-General of Education or the Minister of Education. Whereas Universities and C.A.E.s provide their own courses TAFE Colleges teach to common syllabi for common courses which have been designed by committees established by the central organisation. Courses are therefore not College based. The staff of TAFE Colleges are employed by the appropriate department under the Minister of Education.

The way in which the community can influence these three streams of education vary because the type of administration determines the point of community input, if such takes place.

The Community

A community can exist in several forms, so it is very difficult to define in general terms what is meant by the expression "The Community". It is an expression which has considerable usage these days, particularly in the public arena where "The Community" is held responsible for so much. It makes demands, it has attitudes, it expresses a point of view and exerts pressures. The common factor, in all forms of communities is groups of people. They can range from a small educational institution community to the population of a city or a whole country.

Within larger communities there are significant groups and sub-sets, such as ethnic groups, religious communities, socio-economic pockets of population (lower, middle and upper class) and pressure groups of various kinds and sizes. All too often views from such groups are put forward by their proponents as community views. In considering community opinion it should be remembered that the community is not homogeneous, is unlikely to have a single voice or have clear-cut opinions. Yet many speakers and writers are fond of referring to community attitudes and points of view on a whole range of questions as though they were clear and identifiable. Such people can be inflenced by vocal minorities or pressure groups and may not be presenting valid views.

In connection with higher education, there are several kinds of community with which institutions of higher education must relate. These are:

(a) The total tax-paying community which must meet the cost of higher education.

(b) The community being served by the institutions of higher education.

(c) The local community adjacent to the institution.

(d) The institution community of students, staff and supportive organisations.

(a) *The Community which Pays*

There is an old saying, "Whoever pays the piper calls the tune". This may apply to education in countries where the local community is responsible for the funding but in Australia, where funds are dispensed by a central taxing source, this is far from true for the people as a whole even when true at the bureaucratic level.

This community on the whole has to bear with the politicians and central bureaucracies and accept the educational policies developed for it by them. It may exert some pressures at election time in the way it votes but elections are fought more often on a group of issues many not central to education.

The paying community being the working population in Australia has very little real influence on educational planning or the policies developed for each level of education. It is too remote from the workforce of education, its views too diverse and its level of information so poor as to be of little positive value. Its only effect on education is political in that if the population as a whole thinks it is necessary to spend large sums of money on education then political parties will place education high on their lists of policy.

Community involvement in higher education comes from the smaller local and special interest groups. These groups are sociologically more homogeneous, more informed and have much less diverse points of view. Some or all of these groups may be biased in their approaches to higher education and may include strong pressure groups which press their own philosophies and self interests to the exclusion of all else.

(b) *The Community Being Served*

The community being served by higher education is the community as a whole because the national economy enjoys the benefits which accrue from the release of well trained people into the workforce. That is, the community which pays is the one which reaps the benefits. A premise which is true in the general sense but not necessarily so in the particular.

States, cities, towns and districts generally vie with each other to attract industries and commecial establishments because of the local gains which can be made. Similarly, they petition for the establishment of Universities and other institutions of higher education within their boundaries for the particular benefits they expect to accrue from its presence.

The workforce is not highly mobile because most jobs are localised. Most people prefer to develop their careers in the areas they know and unless they are of the more adventurous type do not seek to work in more distant fields. The geographic arrangement of the institutions of higher education does mean that some sections of the community gain greater benefits than others. A good example is Melbourne where the eastern side of the metropolis is well served whereas the western side is served by a single college of advanced education and a TAFE college.

(c) *The Local Community*

Institutions of higher education are viewed rather ambivalently by the local community. On the one hand it is looked upon as a valuable asset doing an excellent job of work but on the other hand things could be more comfortable if it was located some ten kilometres distance from its present site.

This latter attitude applies particularly in the cities where the institutions are located in residential and commercial areas on cramped campuses. Local municipal authorities and residents are plagued and frustrated by the large numbers of cars parked on and around the campus and associated traffic problems. The movement of large numbers of students, with their variety of behaviours, from 8.00 a.m. to 9.00 p.m. about the local area most days during term is disturbing to some people. On the other hand local shopkeepers and businessmen derive some financial benefit from the presence of the students.

It is rather unfortunate that very few people living in the close proximity have the opportunity of becoming involved in their local institution. Very few of them have sons or daughters attending classes at the institution and so lack that form of entry. Community members of the institutions' councils and committees are usually drawn from industry, commerce or interest groups and the individuals appointed, in general, do not live close to the college. The local community does not identify very strongly with its institution.

Things are somewhat different in the provincial cities where the institution is often located on a large campus just outside of the city limits. The local population is not inhibited by the influx of cars and students because they are some distance from them. The local community is well represented on the institution's council and committees and in general the community identifies with the college.

Institutions of higher education are concerned about their public image and many employ public relations officers to liaise between the institution and the community. There is an awareness of the value of a good public image in the local community but much progress needs to be made before many communities begin to identify with the institutions in their midsts.

There seems to be some confusion in the community's mind as to the role of the various institutions of higher education. People have some idea of the place of universities but are unclear as to the rest. Much confusion seems to stem from the lack of appreciation of the changed roles of many institutions and for example people still think of many of the colleges of advanced education as being technical schools or teachers' colleges as being controlled by the State Departments of Education.

The publicity and public relations developed by the institutions must be aimed at creating informed public opinion regarding their roles and the kinds of education they provide. Ways should also be developed to enable the local community to use appropriate facilities available within the institutions for its functions and activities.

A well laid out, properly tended campus could, and should, add to the attractions of the local scene and should be available for local enjoyment just as parks and gardens.

(d) *The Institution Community*

The community forming an institution of higher education mainly consists of the students and staff, both academic and non-academic. To them may be added those people who are members of the institution council and the various advisory committees which assist with the development of courses and provide a community input at that level.

Most tertiary education institutions are run on, so called, democratic lines in that students are given responsibility for organising their affairs and staff and students are involved with the committee structures on which most decision-making is based. This democratic structure can produce conditions which foster the development of internal politices and the growth of pressure groups. A significant number of both staff and students show little interest in the decision-making processes being more absorbed in the work associated with their discipline or devoting all of the spare time to study. It is, therefore, possible for minority groups of staff or students to exert considerably greater influence than their numbers warrant.

TAFE colleges do not have the same degree of autonomy as tertiary institutions. Matters of policy on many issues are not determined at the college level and therefore staff and students have very little involvement. Educational policy and course design are formulated at the central headquarters. The staff are employed by the service and hence transfer from college to college in order to obtain promotion.

Higher education can be considered as a form of industry. It is possible for the incidental matters associated with the organisation of an institution to assume an importance equal to the educational function. The danger then is that some members of the institution community may view the institution as existing for its own sake rather than for the community it is supposed to serve. People in higher education suffer from the same human frailties as their fellow men. They are interested in empires and empire building, seek to raise standards for their own sake, become competitive for personal benefit and seek to rise in the pecking order.

The institution community has the greatest influence on the institution because in many ways it is the institution. The success or failure of the institution, its acceptance by the community and prospective students depends very much on the calibre of the staff, their attitudes and the success they have demonstrated as educators.

Community Pressures on Higher Education

Many of the so-called community pressures on higher education do not necessarily lead to beneficial outcomes for the community or education. In a few cases the pressures are resigned to benefit small groups at the expense of the larger community, in others the actions are taken with honest but mistaken aims.

Groups which can exert pressures to gain their particular ends are professional bodies which seek to upgrade courses by raising the academic requirements for admission to membership. The personal interests being imposed in such cases are the desires of the few to create exclusiveness and to assist the upward professional mobility of the existing membership. This is not suggesting that professional bodies are bogies to higher education but is intended to underline the power of such bodies in determining what higher education teaches in their professional fields by the simple expedient of deciding on changes in the academic requirements for membership.

Commercial interests may perceive advantages in the establishment of an institution in their region. There may or may not exist a need for such an establishment but the arguments supporting the proposal do have self interests for the few. A good deal of political kudos can be gained from the decision to build a college in an area. Emotional arguments come to the fore when proposals for new institutions are being proposed. Often insufficient investigations are carried out in determining what is needed and the best site for its establishment.

An example of how community pressures exert influences on higher education is exemplified in the establishment of Universities. There appears to be a standing misconception in the public mind that in order to raise the educational levels of the community we must have more universities. Many towns and districts have formed, at different times, action groups to prosecute claims for the establishment of a university in their area. The publicity by means of letters to the editors of daily papers, claims about young people not being able to gain places in universities, arguments that people in outlying country districts are just as entitled to a university education as those living in the city, newspaper editorials and questions in Parliament can sometimes persuade political parties to propose the establishment of further universities to gain votes.

Victoria's fourth university came about because the Government succumbed to pressures and became irrevocably committed to the policy in spite of the Australian Universities Commission's Report which stated that no educational grounds existed to support the establishment of a further University in Victoria. Similarly the Parliamentary Opposition was also committed to establishing a fourth university.

Pressures can be applied to higher education as the result of Government or other instrumentalities initiatives in other areas. For example the implementation of the Labour Government's policy of increased social and helping services created a shortage of social workers, youth workers and similar trained people. Further courses were established as a matter of urgency to meet the demand which has since fallen off because of the retraction of Government spending and the curtailment of services.

Certain courses seem to become fashionable from time to time and institutions are brought under pressure to increase their enrolments in the particular disciplines in order to absorb the students presenting.

The Present State of Community Involvement

The present state of community involvement in higher education is very limited as far as the general populace is concerned, being largely in the hands of the smaller groups which have been referred to previously. There are many individuals involved at all sorts of policy levels in the Universities, C.A.E.s, TAFE Colleges and the various boards established to advise Ministers on higher education. These people sit on Senates, Councils and advisory Committees and are there to bring to the discussions and decision-making the value of their various special expertises. They are in general appointed by invitation because of their known interest and special knowledge. A few represent allied interests and are either elected by or appointed on the advice of the particular groups, such as staff, Chambers of Commerce, Chambers of Manufacturers, Professional Societies and the Trade Union Movement.

No provision appears to exist whereby the ordinary citizen can be elected or nominated by his peers to any of the above positions. The situation is largely a closed shop and the danger does exist for bodies to become self perpetuating because vacancies are usually filled by the members of the particular bodies selecting further persons of their own kind for appointment.

Desirable Developments

There are a number of developments, which appear desirable and necessary, to be achieved before the fruitful involvement of the community can be achieved. Community involvement for its own sake is not necessarily a good thing and many valid arguments can be put forward in support of preserving for higher education a significant degree of isolation for the community.

Extensive community involvement can bring with it faction differences where the level of difference assumes a greater importance for the participants than the institution, the real reason for their involvement. Many variations can be developed for this theme but they all have the same final result, namely the retardation of any real progress by the community group leading to the frustration of the group and more seriously the institution.

Probably the most important development which is needed and is very much overdue is the moulding of an informed public opinion. This will require an extensive educative process and public relations exercise. A secondary benefit for the community can be gained from the establishment of efficient vocational and careers counselling services because if children are given proper advice and assistance they are in a position to help their parents to broaden their horizons. Vocational and counselling services should work as closely as possible with the parents because their attitudes influence their children in educational and employment decisions.

The forms of advice to children and parents should be such that it enables them to make their own decisions on firm grounds. While it is accepted that directive advice is undesirable there appear to be grounds for believing some element of directive activity should exist in the counselling situation to give positive assistance to those who can gain from higher education and mildly discourage those who for sound reasons it is known cannot. Far too many students suffer anxiety, frustration and failure because they were wrongly advised to give it a go when all pointers indicated abject failure.

There is also a need to develop better co-operation between the various sectors of higher education and to provide easier transfer of students from one to another without loss of educational credits. Facilities should be available to encourage the upward mobility of those who are able to continue on to higher levels of education. The system should be geared for Universities, C.A.E.s and TAFE colleges to participate in the development of life-long education.

Perhaps if life-long education was developed as an efficient on-going process there would be less emphasis placed on the cramping of the maximum material into preservice education and the resulting pressures to increase the length of some undergraduate courses in order to cover the extensive syllabus adequately.

Higher Education — Democracy or Dictatorship?

Democratic processes are supposed to result in providing the solutions and policies which are acceptable to the majority. Democracy is also supposed to work on the basis of obtaining a concensus of opinion from those involved.

Many institutions of higher education have developed committee structures based on democratic principles. Staff and students are elected to the controlling council and its various advisory committees concerned with administrative as well as academic policy. This pre-supposes that there are sufficient students and staff interested in putting in the extra time and work involved as an extra curricular activity. In general more than sufficient staff are forthcoming but from time to time student interest is very low. Most students are too involved with their studies to devote the time to committees. This usually means that students can be represented by minority pressure groups. In general the students available come from a limited number of faculties.

The democratic approach is not necessarily the most efficient because it takes time for decisions to be made as they must pass through the successive committees before they finally reach council. Many promising ideas can get lost in the system because of lack of enthusiasm of some committee groups at some stage. It does have the advantage of ensuring that most decisions are made after a fairly thorough going examination and the time taken also ensures that programmes are not initiated on the basis of some will-o'-the-wisp scheme. Mature consideration is likely to eventuate for the majority of proposals which finally reach the council for final approval.

Dictatorships, on the other hand, have the power to get things done and can short cut the beaurocratic outlook. They also have the power to frustrate and baulk all worthwhile initiatives which do not find favour with the dictator's personal philosophy. Dictators might be benevolent and introduce much which is good but in a comparatively short time even such a paragon of virtue will create frustration from the very fact that the vast store of knowledge and experience which is the staff is left untapped and ignored.

There are always a significant number of staff who have the expertise and the desire to use it in the overall functioning of the institution. Without these demands on their abilities they soon become frustrated and lose much of their value to the college.

TAFE is a comparative newcomer to the scene and if one takes note of Ministerial statements it is a field which will receive considerable encouragement in the near future. TAFE is not built on democratic lines because its colleges are not autonomous and its direction is dictated by a central organisation in the form of a State government department. What form its future development will take is not particularly clear at present. TAFE is probably in the benevolent dictator category.

The democratic approach in higher education even if it is slower in operation holds out the best possibilities for its future development because it invites the involvement of staff and students and encourages a total commitment by them to the institution.

The Future of Higher Education and the Community

One can only hypothesise on the future of higher education and its relations with the community. Starting with the Murray Committee we find that the Government gave substantial support to building up existing universities and founding new ones then following the Martin Report considerable activity was encouraged in the development of advanced education. More recently the Kangan Report emphasised the needs of TAFE and indicated the direction it should take. The Federal Government has now made it clear that it intends to give greater encouragement to TAFE, presumably at the expense of universities and C.A.E.s for we are told the total funds for higher education are limited.

Hopefully the future will see the advent of proper liaison and co-operation between the three streams of higher education at both Commonwealth and State levels. If this transpires Universities, C.A.E.s and TAFE can develop together in a planned way rather than by being given independent injections of funding to prime their activities. The new Tertiary Education Commission and State Post Secondary Boards should be able to monitor the growth of the Universities, C.A.E.s and TAFE in order to obtain the best results for the community.

The future should hold out the hope that Universities, C.A.E.s and TAFE will be complementary systems rather than competitors. Serious problems will continue to exist unless the administration of higher education is properly co-ordinated. Ample evidence exists of the problems due to the proliferation of colleges and courses brought about by the enthusiasm engendered by the influx of funds following the Wark Reports. The C.A.E.s can still be accused of aping the universities rather than developing their own special fields. TAFE colleges no doubt will emulate the C.A.E.s and aim at higher levels of certificate work unless the planners for the future are capable of learning from the errors of the past. Considerable care should be exercised by TAFE to ensure that the further education flow doesn't blind it to the vital needs of the technical and apprentice training elements of its charter, an area in which there is an urgent need for dvelopment.

A brighter future for both advanced education and TAFE could be ensured if formal links were developed between each C.A.E. and its surrounding TAFE colleges allowing for the joint usage of exensive facilities, the interchange of expertise and provision for movement of students with credits from one system to the other. In these circumstances it may be better for TAFE colleges to be given a greater degree of autonomy in the carrying out of their functions so that agreements with C.A.E.s can be negotiated at the college level without having to involve a government department in the discussions. More formal links should also exist between C.A.E.s and universities to facilitate the movement of students with credits not only at the under-graduate level but also in relation to post-graduate programmes.

The community undoubtedly has a part to play in the development of higher education but it cannot do so in any constructive way unless it is informed and has some understanding of higher education and its role. If this is accomplished the community could cause an impact and through its involvement provide a check against excesses or prevent the growth of deficiencies. The public then would be less gullible than it is now and be more able to cope with the emotional issues raised in educational debate.

A CHANCE TO LEARN

L. A. Kloeden

This paper owes much to the enthusiasm and co-operation of all staff involved in the programmes discussed and in particular to the following officers of the Department of Further Education: John Bartram, Rae Blesing, Chris. Doughty, Gerry Govier, Barbara McGough, Warren Neale, Des Thornton, Joan Tucker, David Westover, Bob Wilson.

The Department of Further Education

In 1971 the Department of Further Education was established as a separate administrative entity following an extensive review of South Australian education by the Karmel Committee. That Committee of Inquiry had been impressed by the complexity and diversity of the demands placed on further education and had recommended the need for a department solely concerned with further education.[1]

The Department of Further Education in South Australia is responsible for a wide range of activities conducted in Colleges of Further Education in all parts of the State. The work of the Department embraces middle-level, vocational (including apprentice, pre-employment and retraining) and academic, remedial and preparatory programmes as well as a wide range of cultural, art, craft, and general interest or enrichment subjects.

In order to carry out its mandate, the Department was allocated a total budget of nearly forty million dollars for this financial year. Further, it employs over one thousand full-time teachers, between two and a half and three thousand part-time as well as some seven hundred public servants and five hundred ancillary staff.

The South Australian Department of Further Education maintains 30 Colleges of Further Education with over 300 Branches in 143 towns, as well as several specialist institutions, such as the Migrant Education Centre. It caters for over 100,000 students, which represents around 11% of the State's population.[2] The Department conducts more than 1,700 separate educational programmes, involving something of the order of 2,000 subjects, although a precise count never seems possible as we continually introduce, modify and update subjects to meet the needs of employers and individuals.

The educational programmes of the Department of Further Education are based on a number of fundamental principles. Some of the most important are:

(1) *Concept of Recurrent Education*

Inherent in the Department's philosophy and through its policies is the concept of recurrent education which "emphasises the distribution of education over the lifespan of the individual in a recurring way with alternation between education and other activities such as work and leisure".[3]

(2) *Open Access*

The Department of Further Education has always known and attempted to alleviate the difficulties associated with access. In the past "access has been limited, not only by entry requirements, but also by the absence of learning methods which gave the individual the option of reaching his goal in his own way and at his own pace".[4]

The Department's policy of open access to all its courses is supported by bridging and catch-up programmes where required.

(3) *Equality of Esteem*

The essence of further education is that it is non-exclusive and non-elitist. This does not imply that it is in any sense second-rate or second best, although it has all too often been treated as such, particularly in the allocation of resources, to the great detriment of the whole community.

The Department firmly rejects any notion that some courses are more important than others. All our programmes are educational ones, and similar educational objectives underlie education in trade, middle level, academic or enrichment subjects.

(4) *Balance between Autonomy and Central Support Services*

A philosophy of total local autonomy for 30 Colleges scattered throughout the State would lead to wasteful duplication of effort. The Department believes that in terms of effectiveness and cost efficiency a proper balance between some degree of local autonomy and the provision of a well designed, central administrative and support system serving the Colleges is essential to serve the interests of all students in further education.

(5) *Community Participation*

The broad area of community participation is one of the most important and challenging areas in which we attempt to apply our educational philosophy. Further education in South Australia has a long history of community participation. When the Department was established as a legal entity in 1971, we intensified our efforts to involve the community in further education. Broadly speaking, our efforts began with programmes to involve the community IN our Colleges. Our thinking and practice are currently entering a new phase in which the previous emphasis on getting the community into our institutions is supplemented by efforts to take further education out to the community.

Methods of involving the community in further education include:

(i) *College Councils*

The Further Education Act has given the role of Councils new emphasis; they are now established as independent legal corporations with considerable potential financial powers. It is intended that councils will be increasingly involved in the administration of colleges and that they should endorse the educational programme.

(ii) *Curriculum Development*

The area of curriculum development is one in which great stress is laid on consultation with industry — both employers and employees.

Ad hoc committees are used to help in defining a need, designing a response in the form of a course or programme and evaluating the effectiveness of that response.

(iii) *Drop in Facilities*

One of the simplest ways of involving the community in further education is by simply asking them to "drop in" and use college facilities — workshops, potters' kilns and so on.

As part of this strategy, Colleges set their own opening hours and periods of operation within a general requirement that they should be open at least 48 weeks of the year.

Naturally, facilities such as theatres and auditoria are available to the public and library/resource centres are designed so that they can function as a community service.

But community involvement does not cease when the community comes into the Department or its colleges as advisers, students or users of facilities. Further education must also be taken OUT to the community. The Department of Further Education actively pursues the policy of community outreach in the following ways:

(i) *Music and the Performing Arts*

Music and the performing arts are taught as enrichment subjects and to professional groups. The Department takes its enrichment function to mean an obligation to enrich the community through its cultural life, as well as an obligation to individuals.

The Department sponsors theatrical productions both professional and amateur and in both music and the performing arts efforts are being made to decentralise activities. In the last few months the Department has appointed an experienced American actor and drama educationist to Mount Gambier and an equally experienced British Director to Port Augusta; in both cases their role, besides teaching, is to stimulate community activity and provide professional support to community groups.

(ii) *Study Groups in Homes, Workplaces, Hostels*

There are many circumstances in which, to be effective, further education must be actually taken into homes and workplaces. Two good examples of this are the Adult Literacy Programme in which individual instruction may be carried out in the client's own home, and pre-retirement courses which are periodically conducted for the staff of a large department store in the store's premises.

In the realm of community outreach a Learning Exchange located at the Adelaide Hills College of Further Education is having enormous success in providing access to education. The exchange aims to provide access to learning resources in the community — individuals, organisations, materials and other facilities — and to provide a means of bringing together people who wish to be involved in discussions, research, sharing of ideas or other activities.

(iii) *Link Courses*

The fact that so many young people leave school inadequately prepared for the world of work or of further study is currently the subject of much discussion in the community. Over the last few years a number of our colleges have established links with nearby secondary schools so that students attend courses at the college as part of their normal curriculum. Programmes of this sort may be particularly valuable when integrated with a work experience scheme.

Community participation in education is obviously built upon the many inter-related processes through which people help themselves and their communities. The philosophy of community education advocates processes and programmes to utilise the total community environment and human resources so that the community becomes a dynamic interchange of living learning experiences for all. Inherent in this philosophy is the belief that each community education programme should include processes based on individual and group involvement and participation and it should endeavour, as far as humanly possible, to satisfy the needs of that community.

In its broadest connotations "community" is a term which encompasses all individuals who share common interests — interests which may embrace social, cultural, educational, ethical, political and behavioural attributes. Within that broad definition there are, I believe, groups who for a variety of reasons, are considered by many people as being "extra-community". Because an individual has or exhibits particular abnormalities, society places them in special situations, provides them with "special" education, special facilities and special assistance.

Apart from some inconvenience to their own full development these so-called "special" or "extra-community" people have similar desires, similar needs and similar wants as you and I. Is there any reason why they should not merit the same quality, attention and assistance in satisfying those wants, needs and desires? They are by virtue of any definition of the term, members of "the community" and are surely entitled to participate in and receive the benefits of community actions.

Unfortunately, in the past society has tended to neglect those people who suffer some disability, handicap or inconvenience in their search for further education. Barriers to access have arisen which prevent them from enjoying fully the opportunities for recurrent education. Even though access to further education with its wide range of courses, minimal prerequisite conditions, and part-time enrolment patterns of attendance, is less difficult than access to many other forms of post-secondary education, there are still problems.

For some individuals barriers to access are built in their early educational experience. They "are unable to cope with their early compulsory education and the consequences have pursued them into adulthood, limiting their desire to seek and their capacity to perceive other educational opportunities".[5] For these people school days were full of dull, unintelligible tasks resulting, as Plato said, in "knowledge acquired under compulsion, obtaining no hold on the mind".

Special problems facing women who seek access to technical and further education "range from matters as basic as lack of suitable toilets to the more subtle forms of discrimination such as courses being designated 'courses for boys' and 'courses for girls'."[6]

I believe that as a community we are only just moving to the realisation that there is an enormous need which can and ought to be satisfied. We are all familiar with the traditional student who has come through the mandatory years of schooling and has the capacity to define his own educational needs. We are also aware that there are members of the community who for many reasons have been prejudiced against the traditional system and have therefore tended to be regarded as special.

Perhaps we should be more introspective. Perhaps the criticism arising from the above should be levelled against us, particularly as the community has attempted to steer all people through the familiar channel of enrolment, attendance and structured courses.

Over 400 years ago John Donne wrote:

> "No man is an island, entire of itself;
> each man is a piece of the continent . . ."

As an expression of the need for involvement and participation, this sentiment has never been more true than it is in today's modern world. For we are social beings and we should be concerned not only with our own self-interest but with the wider and broader interests of society and of our community.

With the foregoing in mind I now turn to an examination of the South Australian Department of Further Education's provision of education for those groups which have in the past been labelled "disadvantaged, neglected or special".

I realise it is difficult and perhaps unwise to disintegrate a community into specific groups, but for the purposes of this paper, I wish to look particularly at a number of these groups within the community.

The Culturally, Socially and Economically Deprived

Our experience shows that the culturally, socially and economically deprived members of the community are largely, though not entirely, comprised of women. One argument put forward to explain such an imbalance is that women have been more seriously handicapped by the changes and pressures of society. They have been affected by changing life styles which have questioned the status of women, the size of families, the nuclear family, and by their relative isolation. Society has, in fact, been challenging the traditional preserves of women.

The need to accommodate to these changing social attitudes is an important factor in support of continuing education for an ever-widening section of the community. I believe that educators should sponsor learning opportunities in ways as varied and applicable as are the life styles, interests and aptitudes of the public.

Research conducted in South Australia has shown that the socially or culturally disadvantaged are generally not aware of the possibilities for further education. As individuals they lack the confidence and all too often have a fear of education, schools and teachers. They have, however, sometimes been able to define their needs within groups and under this cloak have brought their interests to the Department of Further Education's attention.

Pilot schemes have been conducted through community groups such as pre-school groups, church associations, school organisations and clubs. Programmes have been planned in terms of defined educational objectives and flexible syllabuses. Each programme has been designed to meet the needs and talents of each particular group. Home Economics has provided the keynote for the majority of these groups. The women felt comfortable in preliminary discussions about food preparation and lecturers used this as a means of exploring such topics as food labelling, adulteration of food products, nutrition, preparation of food in line with today's techniques of entertaining, health, child development, relationships with children and elderly people. That to me is Home Economics in its broadest sense.

For success, programmes such as those outlined above need to be conducted in a relaxed learning environment, such as is available in shelter homes or other familiar surroundings. All too frequently in the past, colleges by nature of their traditional walls, desks, teachers and instruction, have reinforced the barriers to continuing education.

The results of the programmes already carried out are difficult to measure but the response of the students (and organisers) has been far greater than was anticipated at the outset. We have learned that further education cannot be contained solely within the institutions but must extend into the community. We must go to them.

Another group, perhaps socially more than economically deprived, comprise those who are competent, but lack sufficient confidence, to do something about their circumstances. Over 120 women, representative of this group, enquired about a 36-hour programme called "Opportunities for Women", which was introduced in late 1976.

The objective of the programme was to enable women to consider their future; whether it be to contribute effectively to the community, or for re-entry to the workforce, or for launching a new career or even taking up study. Each of these avenues required a fresh evaluation of their own situation. The educational level of the participants ranged from post-primary to university graduate. They represented a wide variety of ethnic groups; family sizes ranged from nil to six children.

Despite these striking contrasts, the women shared the common ground of a lack of self-confidence. They all felt some degree of reticence about stepping out of their easily defined roles, such as that of wife and mother. The programme helped each woman to realise that opportunities did exist but that she would have to avail herself of them by taking the initial step, a difficult thing for many women to do. It involves an honest assessment and acceptance of her role in the home and community. It also involves an assessment of her talents, abilities and interests, private research into employment possibilities and undertaking a study programme if required.

The economically and socially deprived group within the community have become known to us as a result of contact with associations such as the Women's Shelters, City Missions and Supporting Mothers. Others have been referred to us by the Department for Community Welfare. We are not providing a duplication of services. Our aims are to build up in the women and men self-esteem and confidence in their own ability to enable them to take a positive approach to their role in relation to themselves and their children.

For this they surely need access to continuing education. We have achieved a degree of success in this social-education programme to the extent that further short courses are being sought. Above all, we must be available to carry on once we have committed ourselves; there must be no short-term planning in this area.

The success the Department of Further Education has already achieved in this area has been very largely due to the lecturers' responsible approach to their task and to the thoroughness with which they prepared every aspect. They have had to recognise and accept the thinly veiled hostility, wariness and anxiety towards education and educators. Without this sensitivity they may well have been rejected at the outset and have confirmed the women's general ideas of "Department" and "Education". This did not occur, and in every instance the "lecturers" have been asked to come back — a reaction one could not lightly have anticipated. After several sessions it appears in general that we have succeeded in providing an introduction to and an acceptance of "education".

For those able to cope with their situation a self-development series which included communication skills, human relationships and legal aid was held. Many students have commented on their increased confidence as a result of participation in our programmes. It is a first step — the long-term aim is to lead these people into a wider section of the community or into a more formal learning situation, if that is what they wish.

Whenever staff have been involved in these "special" areas they have shown themselves to be supportive, have acted as resource people and have taken into account that education is a lifelong process of personal development. There are no limits other than resources and these limitations can be reduced where real desire is the foundation of our efforts.

Aborigines

All sections of the community are encompassed within the charter of the Department of Further Education. From its earliest days the Department has provided opportunities for Aboriginal people to undertake its courses on the same conditions as the general public. However the experience gained by the Department over the past three years indicates that traditional methods of providing educational services have not been effective with Aborigines.

To overcome this barrier, the Department has established an Aboriginal Education Section to permit increased contact with Aborigines and Aboriginal communities and to allow for more flexibility in administrative and operational structures. The basic aims of the Department of Further Education in Aboriginal education are to assist Aborigines to become self-determining, self-reliant people within the broader community, or within a traditional community.

The Department is developing programmes that offer opportunities for Aborigines to increase political, economic and social effectiveness within the Australian community as a whole. These programmes seek to build and develop confidence, assist the development of literacy and numeracy skills, and increase education to levels that permit technical and other vocational training to be undertaken. The approach and methods employed vary with the group and locality involved.

Language and numeracy classes initially provide basic "survival" skills but extend to permit students to progress on to higher levels. Opportunities are provided to enrol in established courses in regional Colleges or with the South Australian College of External Studies.

Art and craft options have enabled skills development to levels sufficient for the production of saleable items and several groups, such as the Marree Outback Crafts, have sold their work at craft displays.

Home Management courses in cooking, sewing, budgeting, dressmaking and child care are conducted. Community Centres have been established in a number of locations where the Department, in conjunction with other Departments and agencies, has assisted in providing instructors, equipment and materials. An example of this approach is found at Coober Pedy where the Umoona Community Council has established a centre in a house owned by the Department of Community Welfare. The planning and organisation of a women's centre at Ceduna is following similar lines.

It is significant that Aboriginal women are highly motivated towards development through activities of this type. Experience once again shows that women, once involved in these activities, often expand their interests into other areas as their confidence grows.

Classes in technical education are conducted on a needs basis using the most convenient and effective methods available. A variety of approaches has been adopted including the establishment of a workshop for training motor mechanics at Ernabella, the utilisation of resident tradesmen and existing facilities at Amata, Point Pearce and Koonibba, the organising of intensive full-time programmes in pre-vocational education at Port Augusta, and the provision of a mobile teaching facility.

Particular interest has been shown in the mobile teaching unit that is servicing the north-west region of the State. A husband-wife team, operating from a mobile workshop unit comprising a truck and caravan, spend periods of time at different locations moving to a new location when a need is expressed. Arising out of local needs and at a pace determined by the student group, skill training in motor mechanics, welding, home making, child care and crafts can be given. The unit has had considerable success in the first six months of its operation and requests for the service have come from many centres in the north-west of the State, Western Australia and the Northern Territory. The demands stimulated by this project indicate the extent of technical education needs.

The Department recognises the critical lack of employable skills amongst Aborigines in South Australia, and is operating a Pre-Trade Training Scheme in Carpentry, Joinery, Welding and Motor Mechanics at Port Augusta and is assisting the Aboriginal Community College in Adelaide to develop a similar programme for Aborigines resident in the metropolitan area.

Another approach which is being developed and appears to possess considerable potential is the organising of short-term workshops, such as at Amata where there were successful efforts in bakery and dressmaking crafts and at Indulkana where two successful workshops in Basic English language and Pitjantjatjara were conducted. Initiatives have been taken to conduct a Farm Management Workshop at Port Augusta and a Community Management Programme at Alice Springs this year.

We are mindful, when preparing and implementing such programmes, of the evident desire of groups to preserve their identity. For this purpose the Department selects and employs personnel experienced in Aboriginal education and acceptable to local Aboriginal communities.

There is still much to be done. Aborigines in the past have been "utterly unequipped to deal with the paper and materials needed for an industrial democratic society; the education system has frozen them into the sector providing the limited kinds of unskilled labour capable of being performed by the illiterate and near illiterate".[7]

Aged Citizens

I wish to turn now to another group within the community; the aged or senior citizens. By 1996 the projected demographic data of South Australia indicates that 29% of the population will fall within the 50+ age group. This may seem difficult to comprehend. But the aged already constitute a significant proportion of the population within the metropolitan area in particular, and will continue to grow in numbers in the next twenty years. Cognisance therefore needs to be taken of measures to provide further education opportunities for this group. Invariably, people — administrators and social workers — will agree that "something" should be provided for the aged, but they are not always agreed on what that "something" should be.

Minimal recurrent education is currently being provided in South Australia for this group. Within geriatric nursing homes it seems that many of the patients tend to decline quickly to the point where they show little interest in any other person or any form of activity. Their lives can become quite meaningless.

However, there is, I believe, a section of older people who badly miss intellectual stimulation, discussion and conversation. They want to have contact with their peers, and even among those with limited education there exists a lively curiosity, a desire to know and to learn. As the Greek dramatist Aeschylus once wrote:

> "Old men are always young enough to learn, with profit."

Many ageing people resent the implication that they need to be "educated" and there are many who reject the suggestion of classes, groups and seminars. As educators we must guard against forcing people to be educated. These people have long and varied careers behind them, many at advanced intellectual and technical level, and they do not like to be talked down to. Of themselves they must want to be involved; they must be self-motivated; they must want to do.

As an instance of this philosophy the Department of Further Education is currently operating experimental writing classes at the Helping Hand Centre in conjunction and in co-operation with the senior citizen residents. In December 1976, the Writing Group produced their first magazine. Contributors to the magazine ranged from people in their sixties to the Consultant Editor who was 96.

We have found that writing activities provide one of the most suitable means of involving the aged in a learning experience, for such activities require a minimum of resource and can be carried out virtually anywhere. Many elderly people have a wealth of valuable experience that could be tapped.

There is certainly a need to persevere with such a class or the group during the first months, as experience shows there is no instant success. We have found that weekly classes are often too demanding for the aged and that meetings on a fortnightly basis are more successful. Old people are particularly fond of reminiscing and their memories are astonishing; they like discussions about the environment, about books, travel, geography and history. They like to contribute and indulge in argument, debate and conversation. In fact, verbal intercourse is something many aged people miss very much.

For this group, which has in the past been sadly neglected, involvement is the key! They must be made to feel that their contribution to life is important and with the ever-increasing numbers of aged people within our community we need to become more aware of their needs and their desires. Learning is certainly a "cradle to grave" process.

Isolated People

As you can appreciate lifelong learning is a matter of concern to us all — we are all part of the community. Whether we be young, old, male or female and regardless of colour and origin we are all caught up in lifelong learning.

But there are people who, for a variety of reasons, are isolated from the mainstream of accessibility to further education. There are those who live in rural communities who suffer "particular access problems because of isolation, unsuitable timetables of lack of basic education requirements . . . and who have reduced opportunity to learn from ordinary social contact of what T.A.F.E. has to offer them".[8]

But isolation from further education is not just confined to those who reside in remote geographical locations. Many people within the metropolitan area are unable to attend classes because of restrictions on their time. Have you ever wondered what opportunities a shift worker has for furthering his education? What provision is made for mothers and housewives who are unable to attend normal classes? What about those people who do not want to participate in normal classes, but who find self-paced studies more convenient for their own learning? What about those who desire anonymity?

Too often in the past we have assumed that all students will benefit from contact with other students or with teachers — this may not be a valid assumption! The Department of Further Education through its College of External Studies attempts to cater for the needs of this group.

The South Australian College of External Studies offers over 300 subjects covering business, commercial, general (including matriculation), rural and technical studies as well as leisure interest subjects. Total student enrolments are now in excess of nine thousand. Of this number 60-70% live within the metropolitan area of Adelaide.

With greater emphasis on student access, the College's lecturers provide a counselling service to establish that the course of study is meeting the needs of students. Increased use is being made of multi-media techniques, particularly for self-paced learning.

The Department of Further Education possesses considerable potential in providing courses for those who prefer a self-paced learning environment. It has the facilities and expertise to produce high quality printed materials at the College of External Studies, and it is able to produce all types of audio-visual media at its Kilkenny College of Further Education.

A recent innovation in providing a service to the "isolated" members of the community is the encouragement of telephone contact with students where possible. We have recently installed a loudspeaker telephone system in country colleges. With these institutions as central locations for seminars, the student (or group of students) is able to listen and speak with the lecturer based in the College in Adelaide.

The College is also able to provide resource materials for self-education purposes to various community groups, such as playgroups. One area of resource material provision which might well be investigated is the availability of self-paced study materials in the appropriate media for physically handicapped students.

An external studies facility such as the South Australian College of External Studies obviously has a number of advantages for disadvantaged or handicapped persons. Students do not have to attend classes and the problem of providing physical access to classrooms is absent. Students receive individual attention and are able to work at their own pace without experiencing the feeling of inferiority or failure that might arise from open competition with other students in a classroom situation. In the case of more seriously handicapped students the College of External Studies fills a most important need. Through constant feedback, their progress is continually evaluated and where appropriate there is modification of courses to suit individual needs.

Adult Illiterates

There is also within our community another significantly large group of isolated people, 17,000 adults in the metropolitan area of Adelaide alone, who have not acquired the literacy and numeracy skills so essential for social intercourse.

Unlike other social issues within our community, adult illiteracy is not easily defined. Invariably, people initially equate the term "literacy" with an individual's ability to read or write his or her own mother tongue. However, this is a most simplistic definition and would be refuted by many researchers working in this field of basic skills education for adults. "Rather than an end in itself, literacy is seen as a way of preparation for a social, civic and economic role that goes far beyond the limits of rudimentary literacy training, that is, the teaching of reading and writing. Literacy should lead not only to elementary general knowledge, but to training for work, increased productivity, a greater participation in civic life and a better understanding of the surrounding world and should ultimately open the way to basic human culture!"[9]

There are wide divergences of opinion about an acceptable definition of the concept of "illiteracy". For the purpose of this paper illiteracy is defined as the "inability of an individual to communicate in reading and writing situations in terms of their own social context".[10]

Despite what many people may believe, the problem of adult illiteracy in Australia is not a new one.

The Department of Further Education is tackling this problem by providing tutors on a one-to-one basis. The initial period of this form of tuition is for ten weeks. This arrangement ensures that tuition is tailored to the student's needs and abilities, and a teaching relationship is built up between the student and the teacher. These factors are crucial to the whole programme, as students are naturally shy and unwilling to put themselves in a threatening situation. We fully realise the importance of overcoming the student's feelings of inferiority and inadequacy stemming from his or her illiteracy before any learning situation can be established.

Tutoring takes place in an environment mutually acceptable to student and teacher and in many instances this means the student's home or even the tutor's home. By eliminating environmental reminders of the client's unsuccessful classroom learning experiences, it is hoped that resistance to learning and fear of failure will be removed.

Students must be self-motivated to acquire literacy skills and the success of such a rapid and intensive programme depends largely on the willingness of the students to work to the best of their ability without being forced to attend classes. Following this initial teaching period, students are able to join a small group situation for continued instruction.

By paying tutors we are able to demand full and detailed reports on the teaching programme.

Professor Carl Rogers, an eminent counselling psychologist recognised that if certain necessary and sufficient conditions — such as trust, empathy and openness — are established in a counselling relationship, therapeutic change will be inevitable. The one-to-one teaching method used in the Adult Literacy Project seems to embody this type of concept — learning will occur and progress can be sustained if both client and tutor are committed to a genuine attempt to develop literacy skills.

Obviously, with numbers like 17,000 our efforts are only touching the tip of the iceberg. Much more still needs to be done!

Ethnic Groups

I turn now to the final group under examination. Ever since 1788 this nation has been encouraging and accepting immigrants. We have welcomed them with open arms and assimilated them into the workforce, but I believe that in the main only minimal assistance has been provided to help them acquire the necessary skills and knowledge for orientation to life and earning a living in a new country.

The Department of Further Education's programme has developed in part from the Australian programme of basic communication in English for non-English speaking newcomers. However, the fact that there are still very many people in the Australian community whose knowledge of English is meagre or completely lacking, and whose job opportunities and access to education and community life and services are severely limited because of this, points to the inadequacy of the language programme in meeting all needs.

Since the opening of the Migrant Education Centre in Adelaide in 1973 and the subsequent appointment of some full-time teaching staff, priority has been given to the development of a diversity of courses in spoken and written English, relevant to the different needs and experiences of people with varying educational backgrounds.

Over the last 18 months emphasis has been placed on arranging courses which operate at the workplace, entirely or partly in employers' time. Language content is geared to the needs of a particular industry, and the practical considerations of communication on the job. These courses began operating in 1972, firstly at B.H.P., Whyalla. Expansion of the programme was limited for some time partly owing to lack of full-time teaching staff to promote and organise and partly due to the uncertainty of the economic situation and the reluctance of employers to allow time for classes during worktime.

Promotional activity was stepped up from February 1976, and there has been a steady growth of interest by employers and workers, and a considerable increase in the number of courses operating. A flexible approach regarding hours and length of course has been taken. In most instances in this State courses have been held half in employers' time and half in workers' time, an arrangement which in most cases seems to work satisfactorily. The courses are seen as part of the training programme within the industry and there is close liaison with other schemes for worker education.

We are most anxious to expand and improve the industrial programme, as experience has shown that the migrant worker faces problems that tend to be more extensive and complex than for the native born Australian. There are also a number of factors such as shift work, which make it difficult for workers to join regular classes outside of work hours.

The Department also provides courses in people's homes, in schools and kindergartens, in hospitals for long-term patients and at the Pennington Migrant Hostel where classes were held during last year for refugees from Timor and Indo-China.

English language courses are provided at varying levels, ranging from basic courses for people illiterate or semi-literate in their mother tongue, courses in idiomatic, colloquial Australian English, and advanced writing for adults undertaking tertiary study. Many of these courses are on a part-time basis, but full-time and semi-intensive courses are also available.

However, even with continuing development of the English programme, I believe it would be optimistic to expect all adults at present unable to communicate adequately in English, to be able to master a level of English approaching their mastery of their mother tongue. (Even among well-educated individuals with a flair for languages, balanced bilingualism is rare.) Therefore, while adult education facilities in the community are based on the assumption of a good knowledge of English and of an Australian cultural background, full access to opportunities in education is denied a substantial number of adults of ethnic origin in the community.

Thus, there is a greater need to offer courses in people's own languages as the medium of instruction, or in some instances, in very simple English, particularly with a view to helping migrants cope with such common procedures as claiming medical benefits, filling in income tax returns, claiming social services, using hire purchase and other credit facilities. In an endeavour to reach members of ethnic groups until now not participating in adult education, we are piloting a new programme in the Thebarton area, with a range of courses, including craft and general subjects which will be started as people express an interest.

The Migrant Education Centre provides facilities for native English speakers and ethnic groups to meet informally in a social atmosphere and to communicate in English and other languages. The language teaching is being planned to complement language courses in operation elsewhere throughout Further Education Colleges and in other post-secondary institutions, with emphasis on semi-intensive courses and opportunities to learn languages of minor ethnic groups at present not receiving attention. The aims of the courses will include language maintenance for ethnic groups and learning about another culture through language.

We are also tackling other problems related to the needs of ethnic groups. We are aware of the critical shortage of skilled interpreters and translators, and have run short courses to upgrade the skills of people currently acting as interpreters but without adequate training. Most of our work has been with Italian speakers, but we would like to extend both the breadth and depth of this activity. We have also done some work to help migrant communities maintain their ethnic traditions; for example through the provision of Greek dancing and cookery classes at the Thebarton branch of Croydon Park College of Further Education. Again, we would like to extend this work to other centres and other ethnic groups.

Thoughts for Action

The foregoing has been an attempt to show "WHAT IS" for some neglected, disadvantaged and "special" groups within the South Australian community in relation to provision of opportunities for further education.

I have in a number of instances suggested that there is still much to do, or more euphemistically that "we are just scratching the tip of the iceberg".

The growing realisation within the community that learning as a life-time activity is a fundamental theme of our society suggests it is time that the iceberg was melted.

If the main purpose of education is the betterment and development of individual people and their contribution to the good of the community, then emphasis on the needs of the individual should lead to easier access to learning and to better and more improved physical conditions for learning. If lifelong education is to be a reality for the neglected, disadvantaged and "special" groups, then further education must have a flexibility of approach which will act as a positive incentive to people to fully utilise all resources available. Educational resources should be available for the maximum time and should permit a great variety of approaches to learning. Having looked at "what is", the final step is to look at "what ought to be".

I dare say that if questioned you would all have differing priorities for educational development programmes, and furthermore, there would be enormous divergences of opinion over those priorities.

The following proposals derive from my perceptions and observations of the system in South Australia. I have not attempted to ascribe any importance to particular proposals — they are all important and all necessary.

Rather than look again at all the groups I have mentioned, I would like to take a broad general perspective and suggest remedies which will have implications for most, if not all, groups.

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(i) *Research*

The first suggestion is the need for more and detailed research into the needs and problems of all groups. The recent Report of the House of Representatives Select Committee on Specific Learning Difficulties continually reiterates the need to "conduct or commission developmental research" or "establish a series of pilot studies" in relation to various aspects of Specific Learning Difficulties programmes. In the area of Adult Literacy the Select Committee recommended:

> "Research should be commissioned into the most effective techniques for teaching adults with deficient literacy skills and for the development of suitable material for use in work with such persons."[11]

The T.A.F.E. Commission is also involved in financing research into a number of areas including the needs of special groups. The report of T.A.F.E.C. for the Triennium 1977-79 stated that:

> "one series of studies indicates a need for further publicity and community awareness. . . . Studies of minority groups also indicate the need for further special programmes or special facilities and provide information on the most effective nature of such programmes. These include the provision of bridging courses for Aboriginal school leavers, literacy programmes for young apprentices, link courses for girls (who at present are heavily under-represented in T.A.F.E.) and greater attention to facilitating the physical access by handicapped persons to T.A.F.E. institutions."[12]

It is obvious that we are aware of the need for further investigation and research as a basis for developing comprehensive plans for provision of educational opportunities for these neglected, disadvantaged and "special" groups.

(ii) *Change in Attitudes*

The second proposal requires a change in attitude. I think that the T.A.F.E.C. Report for the Triennium 1977-79 adequately summarises the situation:

"There are many people in the community for whom the more traditional, formal provisions of T.A.F.E. are not always appropriate or do not meet their real needs. There has been a tendency in the past to single out certain groups (women, migrants, illiterates, etc.) and to bring them together under the heading of disadvantaged. The Commission believes that a more positive attitude is needed, one which recognises that some people may have particular educational needs, which for a variety of reasons they have not been able to make known, or which have not enabled them to fit in easily with established educational structures and practice. Commonwealth assistance should be sufficiently flexible to support worthwhile activities to meet these needs . . . the Commission is also concerned that T.A.F.E. as it develops in Australia be broad and flexible enough to provide the widest range of learning opportunities. This will not be an easy task, nor one which can be accomplished in a short time. However, it does provide a very worthwhile challenge in the development of a T.A.F.E. system which can readily respond to the changing needs of society and people."[13]

(iii) *Integration*

Thirdly, we need to closely examine the idea of educational integration of members of the community, wherever possible.

More and more educationists in Australia are extolling the view that handicapped and disadvantaged people should be integrated as much as possible into normal life. "The overwhelming moral imperative has been to contain and limit the risks these people would suffer. Will these risks be greater or less in an integrated than in a segregated setting?"[14]

"Certainly, returning 'special' students to regular classes imposes enormous new burdens on teachers who are being asked not to lead a string ensemble but to conduct Mahler's Symphony of a Thousand. Success in that ambitious venture requires, at a minimum, training teachers to cope with a far broader range of student ability and skills, and providing funds for specialists who can work with both students and teachers in overcoming particular diagnosable problems."[15]

I believe that handicapped people who can cope with a conventional educational environment derive great benefit from integration, which also has benefits for those with whom the handicapped come in contact.

I shy away from prescribing that all neglected, disadvantaged or handicapped students should be integrated. Some of the groups to whom I have referred will not always benefit from integration. Here I am referring to the need for the one-to-one teaching relationship in the Adult Literacy Scheme, where excellent work is being done. Likewise the External Studies Scheme caters for those persons, who for one reason or another, are not able to, or do not want to be integrated.

This idea of integration is closely tied to the option of a more positive attitude towards the needs of disadvantaged groups. The community needs to be re-educated to better understand the potential of people with handicaps and the nature of their problems. For far too long we have been too negative; we have taken the line of least resistance without really probing the needs and wants of all groups within the community. We have perpetuated the idea of their "specialness!"

(iv) *Publicity*

You may well ask "how do we change the community attitude?" I suppose the first step is through publicity. The quality and breadth of what is available from "Further Education" has to be brought boldly to the attention of the public. Unless there is greater publicity via all media, offering courses without advertising is like winking at a girl in the dark. You know what you are doing, but nobody else does.

Along with the media publicity there also has to be greater provision of educational and vocational counselling — many of the people referred to above are unclear of vocational opportunities and of their aptitudes. A great number will be wary of formal education facilities — they will need care and sympathetic treatment and assistance. Again positive attitudes among the community are paramount if the neglected, disadvantaged and handicapped members of our community are to be more aware of all educational opportunities.

(v) *Facilities*

Assuming that our research discovers the needs, wants and magnitude of the operation necessary to provide further education for the "special" members of the community and that through greater and more effective publicity people are more aware of all opportunities, we might need to make some adjustments to our physical facilities. My thoughts in this area are not applicable to those who are more comfortable in their own home situation, but pertain to those who want to use institutionalised facilities for further education.

I have already alluded to the feelings that many people have about institutionalised looking structures. Perhaps it is time to consider radical changes to the design and appearance of learning institutions. There seems to be a definite need to make education buildings less foreboding, more attractive and thus, more welcoming. Successful learning is more likely to occur in congenial and familiar surroundings.

Very little provision and insufficient care has been taken in providing physical access for physically handicapped students. The future design of education buildings needs to take into account the physical facilities essential for those with motor disabilities.

I have not referred to the blind or deaf members of our community, but all that I have said about educational provision is equally applicable. We really have not made it easy for the non-sighted to use our facilities and rarely, if ever, have we provided suitable equipment to enable the deaf and the blind to further their learning.

However, initiatives are being taken in providing further education opportunities for the blind. In late 1976 we instituted a performing arts oriented programme in association with the Royal Institute for the Blind.

Participation in further education particularly for women is currently limited by lack of creche facilities. Allowance has just not been made for creches, which will permit greater access to further education for a large number of women in the community.

Obviously then we need to take stock of the present situation and begin to make adjustments in the provision of facilities to permit the disadvantaged groups and individuals equality of opportunities for further education.

(vi) *Tailored Courses*

A necessary remedy for improving the further education lot of neglected, disadvantaged or special groups within the community is the provision of tailored courses. One feature of further education accessibility is that the individual does not have to fit the courses; rather the courses must suit the individual. I have already alluded to this feature in an examination of the courses for the economically deprived/disadvantaged groups, for the adult illiterates and for the Aborigines. Obviously this list is not exhaustive. All further education courses can be modified to suit the particular requirements of the individual student.

Course development should ensure that as far as possible courses are designed to minimise discrimination. Special orientation or initiation courses should be available to make the transition for the neglected, disadvantaged or handicapped groups to move into what we have for so long maintained as a traditional province for the majority of the community.

For the Aboriginal people in particular, I believe, there should be more emphasis on pre-employment and pre-vocational courses thereby equipping them for work; naturally the course development should take cognisance of local employment opportunities.

(vii) *Teacher Training*

I have cursorily suggested a number of ingredients which when mixed together will help to make a better educational cake for the disadvantaged groups. However, I have not yet added the most necessary ingredient, the teacher.

> "A teacher affects eternity;
> he can never tell where his influence stops."
> (Henry Adams.)

The teacher is by far the most important influence in any educational programme and I believe more so in programmes for the neglected, disadvantaged and handicapped. In the past we have assumed that, by virtue of their teacher training, coupled with an occasional induction programme, all teachers are able to cope with the problems and special conditions relating to all people within the community.

It is obvious that this assumption is invalid!

For far too long we have relied too heavily on the native ability of teachers to judge for themselves the extent of the neglect, disadvantage or handicap of students. They are not necessarily experts, in the same way that most of us are not experts in dealing with these "extra community" groups and individuals.

So-called "special education" for the more severely mentally and physically handicapped as well as for the other groups listed requires special teaching techniques and specially trained teachers.

Let us be realistic about the whole matter. In many instances the disadvantaged or deprived require additional assistance. I ask you whether you could walk into a one-to-one relationship with an illiterate member of our community and expect to teach him to read? Could you show an immediate success in some field with a mentally retarded adult student?

We must by now have realised that these people are part of our community — they have always been members and they will always continue to be members. We cannot dismiss their presence! Ad hoc measures are not sufficient if we are to be serious in our efforts to provide them with a "Chance to Learn".

Obviously much more than an empathy for "special education" whether it be for ethnic groups, illiterates, mental retardates or Aborigines if necessary. Special expertise is called for, and that requires special training.

Latterly, some Colleges of Advanced Education and Universities have been establishing courses designed to enable teachers to work effectively with the disadvantaged and the handicapped. Unfortunately within this State there is a heavy emphasis in courses towards assisting teachers of handicapped or disadvantaged children, although I understand a teacher who wishes to specialise in the area of education for disadvantaged adults may do so. Such courses should not only be part of a broad general teacher training course, but aspects of the courses should be available to enable teachers to continually upgrade their knowledge and expertise in the particular area.

I am really advocating schemes whereby teachers of disadvantaged adults are able to qualify, train and retrain for that specific purpose.

By now you will have noticed that within all remedies I have suggested there is a hidden factor — funding. The elimination of inequalities in education is largely dependent upon adequate provisions of funds. Miracles cannot be wrought without money.

Many programmes of the Department of Further Education, including those for the groups referred to above, are hampered by insufficient funding. The "T.A.F.E. sector is the Cinderella of Australia's education and, as the O.E.C.D. noted, it is high time that she was taken to the ball. T.A.F.E. gets less money than any other branch of education. In 1974-75, for instance, some 6 per cent of all education spending went to further education."[16]

Mr. H. K. Coughlan, Chairman, T.A.F.E. Commission, noted in a recent address at the National Conference of the Australian Association of Adult Education:

> "At present more than 40% of the total post-school educational load in Australia . . . is carried by T.A.F.E. Of the total funds going to post-school education, however, in recent years T.A.F.E. has received about 23% of the recurrent funds and about 14% of the capital funds . . . a prime future requirement for T.A.F.E. is a greater share of the funds for post-school education . . ."[17]

Under the current economic climate it is unrealistic to expect an ever-increasing allocation of funds for education. If T.A.F.E. is to fulfil its charter, there will have to be a re-allocation of resources in the post-economy area as suggested by the O.E.C.D. and the T.A.F.E. Commission.

Unless this is done the groups under discussion are likely to continue to be disadvantaged educationally. Surely they deserve a better chance to learn?

Here then is a serious challenge to this nation, because as Samuel Johnson once said:

> "A decent provision for the neglected is the true test of civilisation."

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TRENDS AND DEVELOPMENTS IN SCHOOL–COMMUNITY RELATIONSHIPS IN ENGLAND

N. G. FARY

Introduction

Any attempt to review and adequately summarise the development of school–community relationships in a country as diverse as England is, to say the least, rather ambitious. To make the task both manageable and meaningful, I have made a selection of some of the most significant approaches which have, I believe, set others thinking and in so doing have created both a model and climate for change.

The term "community" always raises difficulties because of its many meanings. For any school the two "communities" of immediate concern are the geographical community, indicated by the location of the school, and the community represented by the network of associations held by the teachers and pupils who attend the school. In some cases, such as a village primary school, these two "communities" will be the same; for an urban secondary school the community in close geographical proximity is likely to be quite different from the community represented by its network of relationships of those associated with the school.

One is always concerned about using the term "community" too glibly and without definition, especially as it is a fundamental concept in any consideration of the complex issue of school–community relationships. The Plowden Report (*Children and their Primary Schools*) (1967), the Halsey Report (*Educational Priority Vol. 1*) (1972) and Midwinter's *Priority Education* (1972) have given emphasis to the geographical notion of community, and especially that served by the neighbourhood primary school. For most of this paper the term is loosely used to refer to the geographical area which serves the school.

The growth in school–community relationships has developed in England in a number of ways, not always related or with a similar rationale. In a brief overview of the developments which have occurred in England there seem to be four particular approaches to consider: the Village College concept of Henry Morris; the Educational Priority Areas projects with their emphasis on school and community; the community school and community college developments; and the school and community service. I shall briefly consider these four approaches.

The Village College Concept of Henry Morris

It is impossible to consider the growth and development of school and community relationships in English education without mention of the contribution to educational thought and practice of Henry Morris, who in 1924 as Secretary for Education to the Council of Cambridgeshire, produced a pamphlet in which he outlined a proposal for the development of a Village College.

The underlying educational philosophy of Henry Morris (Poster 1971: 12) reflects a view of education and the community which was well ahead of his time in England.

> As the community centre of the neighbourhood (the Village College) would provide for the whole man, and abolish the duality of education and ordinary life. It would not only be the training ground for the art of living, but the place in which life is lived, the environment of a genuine corporate life. The dismal dispute of vocational and non-vocational education would not arise in it. It would be a visible demonstration in stone of the continuity and never-ceasingness of education . . .
>
> Has there ever been an educational institution that at one and the same time provided for the needs of the whole family and consolidated its life — its social, physical, intellectual and economic life? Our modern educational institutions provide only for units of the family, or separate the individual from the family by time and space so that they may educate it apart and under less natural conditions . . .
>
> The Village College would not outlive its function for the main reason that it would not be committed irrevocably to any intellectual or social dogma or to any sectional point of view. Intellectually it might be one of the freest of our English institutions.

The Village College was to incorporate on one site facilities for infant welfare, elementary and secondary school. The facilities in the secondary school, particularly in practical subjects, were to be used for evening adult education activities. As well, the social and recreational needs of the community were to be met by a shared use of facilities such as a village hall, library and reading room.

In 1930 the first Village College along the lines suggested by Morris was opened in Sawston near Cambridge and Colleges incorporating different aspects of his plan have spread through rural Cambridgeshire.

Poster (1971) points to two key influences in the educational concept of the Village College: at a theoretical level the educational concepts of the Bauhaus Movement originated by the German architect, Walter Gropius, and, at a practical level, the Folk Schools of Scandinavia, although this second influence was not acknowledged by Morris. Poster (1971:17) also argues that "Morris was quite uninfluenced by contemporary trans-Atlantic developments in community education".

The Village College, although widespread throughout the largely rural Cambridgeshire has had very limited appeal in other parts of England (Poster, 1969; Ree, 1969). Certainly the Second World War intervened and restricted its development, but it seems likely that widely accepted bi-partite secondary organisation following the 1944 Education Act created a divisive influence within communities which was not conducive to the creation of a total community educational concept.

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The Educational Priority Areas and the Community School

The Educational Priority Area projects grew out of the recommendations of the Plowden Report (1967) which commented on the poor facilities in which significant groups of primary school pupils were being educated, and sought by a policy of positive discrimination to help these schools and their communities. The Plowden Committee believed that schools were a microcosm of society and, as such, reflected the values, ideals and standards that are part of the community they serve.[1] In fact the emphasis was upon educational priority *areas* and not simply educational priority *schools*.

The three year action/research program operated from 1968 to 1971 and focused on five locations — Birmingham, Dundee (Scotland), Liverpool, London and the West Riding of Yorkshire. Teams were established for each area and they had as their four main aims:

> to improve the educational performance of E.P.A. children; to improve the morale of teachers; to find ways of linking the home and school more closely together; and to find ways in which the community can play a part in the school and the school in the community.

Because of differences between the areas, the approaches used varied: in Dundee there was an emphasis on the pre-school child and the use of home/school liaison teachers; in Liverpool an attempt was made to utilise as many people as possible in frequent contact with E.P.A. schools such as College of Education students and to develop home and school links; and in Birmingham, in an area with a high immigrant group, there was an exploration of the notion of the community school, the use of home/school liaison teachers and on ways of overcoming illiteracy.

Throughout the projects there was an emphasis on pre-schooling and community schooling, and it is the second aspect of this emphasis which is of particular interest here. On the basis of the English E.P.A. Projects, Halsey (1972:180) includes amongst the seven major conclusions:

> (3) The idea of the community school, as put forward in the skeletal outline by Plowden, has now been shown to have greater substance and powerful implications for community regeneration.
>
> (7) The E.P.A. can be no more than a part, though an important one, of a comprehensive social movement towards community development and community re-development in a modern urban industrial society.

These aspects are further developed (p. 189):

> We have developed the idea of the community school to the point where we regard it as the essential principle along with that of positive dis-

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[1] The community school was defined in the Plowden Report as ". . . a school which is open beyond the ordinary school hours for the use of children, their parents and exceptionally other members of the community". The Report was referring particularly to primary schools.

> crimination in a policy for educational priority areas. We have conceived of the community school initially, as did Plowden, as a primary school, though we are not unaware that secondary schools frequently suffer from the same problems. But our experience has gradually re-defined it as a broad aspect of the community itself — viz. the organisation and process of learning through all of the social relationships into which an individual enters at any point in his lifetime. Thus the community school seeks almost to obliterate the boundary between school and community, to turn the community into a school and the school into a community. It emphasises both teaching and learning roles for all social positions so that children may teach and teachers learn as well as vice versa, and parents may do both instead of neither. It insists on seeing the whole of the social organisation of a locality from the point of view of its educational potential, whether positive or negative. Thus the family, the school, the workplace, the W.E.A. class, the public bureaucracies, the public house, the holiday camp and the street are all both potential resources and potential barriers to the educational development of the child.

He goes on to emphasise that there is the whole question of the meaning of "community" and that this varies from place to place. It is an issue which cannot be avoided by sidestepping, although what was of importance in Liverpool was the link between school and home. Halsey (1972:191) further argues that:

> The hub of it all is to encourage parents to join in the educational process. To foster the partnership between home and school it is necessary to move in both directions — to take education into the home and to bring parents into the school.

The E.P.A. project reports vary in their emphasis. The West Riding Project (Smith, 1975) centring on the town of Conisbrough in the South Yorkshire coalfield concluded (p. 254) that "the educational system has to be drawn into the wider questions of social and economic opportunities that amplify or undermine work in schools . . . a form of community education and community development is needed to supplement the existing system which is based on the assumption that social and economic changes proceed at a relatively slow pace" and there is therefore a place for parental involvement; secondly, there was an attempt to bring different parts of the education system into closer contact, and thirdly, there "was the strong belief that education was a natural contact point for the community". However, the report continues in considering the idea of the "community school" to embody "community education" that "the schools as organised at present can only with difficulty take advantage of their present position. There is an inherent conflict between the regular and fixed operation of the statutory educational system, and the fluid and varied response required in social and community work."

It must be noted again that these findings relate to particular problems of areas defined as underprivileged and the growth within them of the links between school and community. It might well be asked how appropriate the approaches used are for other schools and other communities.

The E.P.A. project in its original form has now finished and its basic rationale of a deficit model of society has been challenged (e.g. Bernstein, 1970; Keddie, 1973). In the light of schemes for the disadvantaged on both sides of the Atlantic, this has been done with some justification (Jencks, 1972). However, it is also clear that the E.P.A. emphasis on the local school community has led to, and come at the same time as, renewed interests elsewhere.

To cite one example, the Inner London Education Authority produced a report in 1973 entitled *An Education Service for the Whole Community*. Its stated purpose (p. 5) was:

> to look at the education service in Inner London as a whole and to propose developments designed to enable it to serve more fully the needs of the whole community . . . it proposes a strategy of innovation which relies upon the creativity of the educational institutions in responding to the needs of the community and the individuals who comprise it.

Against this background there has been a re-consideration of a number of inter-related issues: the nature of the community, the tasks of the school, and the processes of change within each. This leads to an examination of some of the actual community schools which have been developed in England during the past decade.

The Community School

Whilst it may be shown that there are two basic models of the community school concept — one which has the school as the focal point for community activities, and the other where the school goes into the surrounding community and uses the resources of the community to achieve its goals, the major developments in England have been towards the first model.

Schools have increasingly been seen as centres for the community whereby the community shares the facilities of the school such as swimming pools, libraries and sports halls.

The concept of the community school was advocated by Henry Morris to revitalise rural areas. Today the revitalisation is not limited to rural areas but includes many large urban areas which have undergone rapid population changes due to re-development and migration.

In several ways the movement towards comprehensive secondary education officially directed in 1965 (Circular 10/65) has given a new thrust to the growth of the community school. Firstly, the elimination of the division between grammar school and secondary modern school in many communities and their replacement by a comprehensive school, and secondly, the larger school is more able to develop expensive facilities such as a library, swimming pool, theatre and recreation areas.

It is, in the sense of being a centre for the community, in a position to offer more. There is also an alternative view which suggests that large institutions, such as large comprehensive schools, tend to reduce, rather than increase, opportunities for the growth of awareness of community in the sense of developing close person to person relationships.

Detailed accounts of some community school projects are available (Poster, 1971; Sharp, 1973; Houghton and Tregear, 1969; Pedley, 1974) and three will be mentioned here as illustrations of the type of development which has taken place.

(i) *Abraham Moss Centre, Manchester*

This is one of the largest community schools in an urban industrial area where it is estimated that there will be up to 4000 full and part time students including a secondary comprehensive school, a college of further education and an education centre for adults. As well, there is a range of community facilities for all ages such as a library, creche, sports centre, handicapped persons' clubs, shops, students' residences and a youth club. The entire centre is administered as a common unit. The pupils in the school share the facilities in the centre with adults who use them out of normal school hours and throughout the year, including the school vacations.

(ii) *Wyndham School, Egremont, Cumberland*

Wyndham school is a purpose built school in the largely rural area of Cumberland where the population is divided into three groups — agricultural workers, miners, and scientific workers employed at the atomic research station nearby.

The task of the school is to draw together disparate elements of the community into one, to develop, in fact, a close community. It has attempted this by a school house organisation which has sought to link school and home through the pastoral role of the Head of House; by the provision of education for adults in the evening and after school; by the use of the school facilities for local associations such as a Bridge Club, Young Farmers' Club and Town Band; by the provision of a Youth Centre for all youth in the 12-21 age group in the area, headed by a Youth Counsellor who is a member of the school staff; by a library which serves both the school and the public (through a separate entrance); by the joint use of an indoor swimming pool and playing field, and by the shared use of the theatre and concert hall.

Essentially, Wyndham School has developed as a centre for the community. The emphasis is on maximising the use of facilities by making them available to the rest of the population when they are not being used by the school.

(iii) *Belfield: A Primary School in Rochdale*

This is an illustration of a primary school which is seen as a centre of community activities and as a centre for community development. In a recent report Pedley (1974:41) describes a primary school established in a housing estate area of Rochdale designed to serve as a focal point for

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community activities with a pre-school play group, a social services unit, a library for community use, and an Information and Study Centre with an emphasis on reference and resource materials to assist the educational development of both school children and adults in the community. As well, the community "school" in Rochdale will have an area providing mid-day meal and recreation facilities for old people. By creating a centre for the whole community, Pedley sees this in its simplest form as "an attempt to re-create the village community and most (though not all) of what it implied".

As with all educational changes which are well publicised and frequently described in the literature, it is easy to get a distorted view of the extent to which a change is occurring and this is particularly true with community schools. There are a dozen or more in England which are well known. Their value is that they demonstrate what can be achieved and, in so doing, set a pattern for others.

Changes are dependent upon a number of factors and it might well be that during a time of uncertainty in English education with major restructuring in secondary education, cutbacks in funding for education and an oversupply of teachers, the situation is not conducive to change.

The Schools and Community Service

The growth of community service emanating from the schools has been a development which has occurred alongside the changes which have been already outlined, and represents an important alternative or complementary approach.

At the 1973 School and Community Service Conference in Liverpool it was interesting to discover that along with so much that has been done in the area of school/community relationships there was a lack of any clear rationale: "community service" meant different things to different groups, with different rationales, approaches and anticipated outcomes.

The rationale for community service came partly from an attempted new approach to Religious Education which was itself an outcome of the seen inadequacy of the 1944 Act; it came partly because of new ideas about relevance emerging to meet the needs of the Newsom Report (*Half Our Future*) (1963) which encouraged the growth of social skills; and it came partly from the view that service was "good" in itself. Much of the early work in this area was "ad hoc" and poorly planned. It was criticised as being educationally short-sighted because the action was not supported by any community study of the issues which emerged, such as "poverty" or use of community facilities.

It was at this point that a radical group raised some of the major objections along ideological grounds because community service failed to go far enough in creating an awareness of community needs and proposing appropriate action to bring about change.

The confusion about the place of community service was reflected in a story which came from the Liverpool Conference and was told about a school–community service project organiser in Peterborough who called on an old lady asking if she would like two girls to help with the garden and painting each week. To this offer she replied that if she could do anything to help with the juvenile delinquency problem she would be pleased to be of assistance.

The Schools Council Working Paper No. 17 *Community Service and the Curriculum* (1968), considers some of the ways in which the school may be involved in its community and it suggests that the curricular implications of service have "to be considered with seriousness and to be argued in detail". It lists a number of ways that this might be attempted in order to achieve one of the aims of secondary education which it suggests is the promotion of "social growth".

In this way, community service may be seen as bridging the gap between the academic high culture of the school and the folk culture/sub-culture of the neighbourhood. Teachers and pupils are on a common ground of shared experience and are in a position to judge what is worth knowing.

The Liverpool Conference advocates of community service argued that community service was important for social education because firstly, it promotes the social education of the young through contacts across age groups, thereby encouraging the young to accept responsibility for others; secondly, it promotes an experience of how the community and society operate and asks key questions about "power" and "control" and other related issues; thirdly, it encourages the opening of the school to the community and vice versa; and, fourthly, it develops moral education by generating experiences which open up a sense of involvement and a feeling for others.

Sevenoaks School pioneered some of the modern school involvement in community service. In 1962 the Headmaster of the school in an address to the Headmasters' Conference (Paterson, 1965:33) stated

> I would urge . . . the value of having a Voluntary Service Group or Unit, however small, during term time. First, it is a fresh assertion of the values I imagine we all hold to but which somehow are not reflected very deeply in the institutions and arrangements of our schools. Second, such a group or unit provides a rallying point for many decent boys, nervous perhaps about organisations that require uniforms, oaths and promises. Third, a Voluntary Service Unit helps to give boys an understanding of the society they live in . . . Finally, this: it is one of the advantages of our wealthy civilisation that boys do not have to work to earn a living until they are 17 or 18 — university trained, not till the early twenties . . . A great many boys feel that for far too long they are barred from doing something useful or practical.

However, it might reasonably be asked whether community service schemes along the lines mentioned will be important unless they are seen as activities for the whole school, and not, as has frequently been the case, a type of activity for the less academically able, or for those in the ROSLA (15 to 16-year-old)[2] groups. Whatever the underlying rationale, or indeed ideology of such a move, it does provide a movement from the school to the community and back again.

The school is in many cases in a conflict situation with regard to the way it may relate to the different concepts of a community service, especially as it represents part of an established system.

However, if the school is to be a part of the community, then the issues which affect the community must also affect the school. In this situation the school might be seen to have a specific task of equipping local young people for the process of decision-making.

Eustance (1975:37) cogently argues that

> effective community service inevitably leads the individual towards involvement in the life and problems of the community. Effective in this context means service which touches the head and heart of the young people involved. Community service cannot exist in isolation. It can only be seen as one element in a process of involvement — involvement of the individual in a situation and involvement of the school in its community.

Colin and Mog Ball (1973:12) in a consideration of the community service and the school follow a similar line and argue that a greater involvement of the school in the community can lead to action for change. They see few school children as having any understanding of their community and their place in it, and believe that "the true community school should not just provide an education for the whole community, it must provide a whole range of services for the community, services based on truly relevant and practical education".

The Balls (1973:33) believe that nothing has happened since the Schools Council Working Paper and that there is a need for a new approach which they label "Community Education" which is

> education about the community, for the community's ultimate benefit . . . more is needed than giving a little social ambiance to the curriculum. What is also needed, and "Community Education" would be incomplete without it, is the end of "service to others", with its implied condescension to the poor and needy, and a new "service for the community". For this to occur schools will need to change more than their curriculum. They will have to change their whole function. But then the education will begin.

Conclusions

It might well be argued that changes in schools reflect changes in society and to this extent the different manifestations of emerging school and community relationships selected for discussion in this paper are indicative of other changes. There are, however, differences in emphasis and expectation which are partly practical, partly locational and partly ideological.

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[2] ROSLA (Raising of the School Leaving Age) pupils for whom alternative programs were being developed after the leaving age was raised to 16 in 1972.

It is probably true to say that the most successful developments have occurred in rural areas where the community boundaries are more clearly defined, and where the school, especially the primary school, has a clear location within the inter-connecting institutional network. In urban areas where the boundaries are less clearly defined the community is more elusive.

If the aim in developing an awareness of community is to recreate the "village community" regardless of geographical location, it might well be asked if the school after a hundred years of compulsory schooling is the best place for either community renewal or for focus of personal growth and development. Has the school, particularly the secondary school, an image of failure, boredom and frustration for so many that its future as a centre for the community will only come with changed attitudes and approaches to school itself? Taking this line it may be argued that the community school, in whatever form it develops, is the starting point for a new approach and attitude to schooling.

A community school doesn't necessarily become an integral part of communal life by the school using the community, or the community using the school. There are clearly important management and communication problems, and it may be that there is a need for training of school administrators, teachers and community workers in aspects of the organisational dimension of the community school.

We can only make sense of community service if we have a view of the school as an integral part of the whole community with its network of social, political, economic and religious links and a view of the way in which change should, can and will occur within a community.

Lastly, the basic underlying question still remains to be answered: what is education all about? Probably a survey of school–community developments in England highlights this fundamental question.

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THE CHRISTIAN COMMUNITY COLLEGES IN VICTORIA: AN ANALYSIS OF THEIR RECENT ESTABLISHMENT

G. J. Farley

In Collaboration: P. W. Harris and J. Connelley

Introduction

At the close of the school year in 1973, the students of St. Joseph's Catholic Secondary Girls' School at Maryborough, Victoria, left for their vacation. They duly returned to the same premises in February 1974. In addition to recognising the familiar sisters of the Brigidine Order, there were new faces amongst the staff. There was also a new Principal. This was Mr. Peter Harris, a Presbyterian, formerly of Haileybury College. In addition, the name board at the corner of the school property announced that the school was now "The Christian Community College".

The word "Christian" was included to indicate that it was the intention of the school to preserve both the traditions of the former Catholic foundation, but also to be ecumenical with the support and participation of other Christian churches, which in the Initial Council of the school included the Anglican, Methodist and Church of Christ groups within the town. The College proclaimed that it was to exist and cater for the community of those acknowledging Christ as their Lord and sought an education within that ethos. The other denominations brought with them the riches of their particular heritage so that all might share, but to the detriment of none.

More recently in February 1977, a similar situation was experienced by students at the Loreto Order convent at Portland. Here the new principal was an Anglican, Mr. Jim Connelley, previously at Canberra Grammar School.

In February 1976 a completely new school, Braemar College, advertised that it would open in premises formerly used by the Clyde School near Woodend. College note paper proclaimed that it was also a Christian Community College.

All three schools have adopted similar aims and methods. It is not surprising then that there has been considerable support and co-operation between them, not only in their establishment but in their continuing operation.

Whereas the school institutions at Maryborough and Portland had passed through a metamorphosis to reappear in their new state of revitalised roles and an enhanced charter, the Clyde School virtually ceased a separate existence because of its merger with Geelong Grammar in 1975 which took effect at the end of that year.

Continuity between the Clyde and Braemar schools was limited to the use of the buildings and their location on the slopes of Mount Macedon. Twenty students of Clyde enrolled at Braemar, but an entirely new teaching staff was employed by Braemar.

While similar to Maryborough in aims and methods, Braemar was dissimilar in many important areas. For instance, Braemar did not inherit a nucleus of religious sisters. Nor, with the exception of the former Clyde pupils, was there any familiarity with room location or of a working timetable. More important was the different manner of establishment of the Braemar school.

As there was no previous or continuing school model, the College started from an idea and an inspiration. This inspiration came from members of the community, expressed through the medium of a well attended public meeting. The public meeting was essentially a gathering of lay persons and the harnessing of the support and contribution of the church leadership both at local and diocesan level was to come later.

This paper will trace the establishment of the three schools and attempt to delineate the factors involved. It will proceed to describe and analyse the educational programme being pursued by the three schools and to emphasise the basic concepts from which this programme proceeds. The paper will examine the community aspects both in establishment and in the continuing entity of the schools. Finally, the writer will attempt an evaluation and estimate of the place and implications of such educational initiatives in the current Victorian scene.

A Narrative of Establishment

Maryborough is an industrial town and rail centre 160 kilometres from Melbourne. It is famous for possessing a very long railway platform, on the Melbourne-Mildura line. Traditionally there have been three secondary schools, namely the High, the Technical and St. Joseph's Catholic Girls' School. St. Joseph's School belonged to and was staffed by the Brigidine Order. By 1973, two trends at St. Joseph's had become increasingly clear. One was a gradual decline in numbers affecting the viability of the school. The other was the increasing difficulty being experienced by the Order in staffing the school.

As experienced by the Catholic school system elsewhere, the alternative to religious staff was to bring in lay teachers and this in turn created a pressure on the budget and fees. Inevitably a serious moral question as to the accessibility of the school for parents with moderate incomes but who sought in conscience a Christian education arose. The option of enrolment at boarding convents in provincial centres did not meet this problem, and the option was increasingly being denied to those families who were affected by the overall decline in rural income and employment opportunities.

Closure of the school, and hence a diversion of students to the other two secondary schools in the town, would not have denied students from obtaining a secondary education, albeit in already crowded institutions, but it would have been seen as a betrayal to those persons who believe that a full education can only take place in the close partnership of Home, Church and School. This view was summarised by Sir James Darling shortly after the new Maryborough school was established, when he said, "But to me the paramount argument (for preserving independent schools) has always been the possibility of combining within the school religion with education. To me the functions are inseparable . . ." (Address to the College, 14th August 1975.)

Following an initiative by the Anglican and Catholic Priests, and supported by other churches and other leading members of the community, an Interim Council was formed with the principal object of providing a genuine and viable alternative Christian secondary school within the area of Maryborough, based upon the following founding principles:

> "This new College sees its origin in the belief that a child needs teaching in moral values and human relations to prepare him for a full and happy life.
>
> "To be effective, this teaching, begun in the home, should be continued into school life. To fulfil these requirements, the new College will maintain a staff who are dedicated to the Christian Life and concept of morality." (Pamphlet — "An Alternative Secondary Education in Maryborough", 1973.)

Expecting to open only with classes at year seven and eight, the response to the proposal was so strong that the former school, St. Joseph's, continued in existence and classes were scheduled in the new organisation to include a Higher School Certificate class, with its heavy demand for staff and resources the needs of students were placed first.

The Interim Council advertised for a principal and additional staff. The Brigidine Order found itself still able to provide an important nucleus of continuing staff for the new school including its principal who became the deputy principal.

Apart from the change in name, the school became co-educational, and through selection of principal, staff and students, also expanded its spiritual scope ecumenically.

Following the successful opening of the school, there has taken place an expansion of numbers to the current enrolment of about 250 students. A building appeal and programme was launched. Buildings have been opened in 1975, 1976 and further building is currently under construction.

Mr. Harris would consider that the key for his school's success has been in its accountability to the community which it serves. In comparing it with other schools of its type, and more specifically Braemar, he would see it as more reflective of the views of the institutional churches at the local level.

Braemar

With the announcement of the merger of the Clyde School with Geelong Grammar and Clyde's closure in its existing premises at Woodend, citizens in the community around Mount Macedon sought a public meeting, to preserve secondary education facilities in the district. This was held on 8th June 1975 at Woodend.

Before discussing that meeting, it is relevant to the topic to explain that residents living in the three shires of Romsey, Newham and Woodend, and

Gisborne, have some affinity through the domination of the Macedon topographical feature, an isolated mountain rising to over three thousand feet, about 60 kilometres from Melbourne. The reader might more readily associate the locality from the well known book and film, "Picnic at Hanging Rock", as a more appropriate landmark, since Hanging Rock (Mount Diogenes) lies just to the north of Mount Macedon between Woodend and Romsey.[1]

The area is one of development. It is subject to planning controls and development orders, and its location is relatively accessible to Melbourne. The somewhat stable and more isolated rural nature of the Maryborough community is in considerable contrast.

The public meeting in June 1975 was attended by more than three hundred persons to the embarrassment and joy of its conveners. These included a Mr. T. A. H. Tyler, a former student at Geelong Grammar School. Mr. Tyler's conception of the new school as an ecumenical Christian School had been conceived during a stay at a Catholic Cisterian monastery, when he had been researching for an Arts thesis.

Other than Clyde, there were no other secondary schools located within the three shires. Government and Catholic schools existed in neighbouring localities, but they were, in the main, already well patronised and attendance involved considerable journey by bus. Hence the public meeting had as its main aim the preservation of alternative secondary facilities within the district. Such preservation implied the creation of a new school, which, if it was to be accessible to the average member of the community, would have to adopt a different approach to resources and funding and would also have to be co-educational to widely appeal.

Speakers at the public meeting included the Principal and Deputy Principal of the Maryborough school. As the meeting expressed a desire for Christian teachings not generally possible in a Government school and as the gathering represented a strong community desire for "their own school", it was not unexpected that the mandate of the steering committee (of fifty volunteers), which was commissioned at the public meeting, was to establish "An independent co-educational secondary day-school with a Christian commitment. A level of government funding of recurrent costs (to be) sought so that the school should be accessible to the whole community . . ." ("The Challenge of Diversity", A New Concept for Secondary and Further Education centred in Woodend, Victoria, July 1975, page 4.)

This Steering Committee met regularly every fortnight for the remainder of that year. It discussed at length the nature of the school it desired, and prepared the Draft Educational Objectives. A reading of these Objectives indicates very accurately the particular community wishes in regard to contemporary education. However the document cannot reproduce the intense emotional feeling and the amount of give and take that was necessary to reach the final consensus. This document was completed before the appointment of headmaster and staff. Amendments since then have been minor, and generally at the request of the participating churches.

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[1] The author of that book is at pains to emphasise the fictional nature of the story and that the Clyde school is not the school in the book. Nor did the film use the school buildings. However, the writer acknowledges with gratitude, the providential publicity that Braemar College received through the timely publishing of book and the screening of the film.

Headmaster and staff were appointed in November and, like Maryborough, the College found itself obliged to open as an "instant" full six level school with eighteen students amongst two hundred seeking a Higher School Certificate class. The story of purchasing of furniture, its repainting, and the fitting up of the school to be open in time was a saga in itself. But it was a project, in which the community — both those who were directly benefiting and others — took an energetic role. For 1977, Braemar accepted a three class intake of thirty students each into year seven, with a current enrolment in excess of 250 students.

Portland

The Loreto Convent at this coast town in Western Victoria, has pursued a pattern somewhat more similar to that of Maryborough. The existing school has changed its name and expanded its scope, again ecumenically. The Loreto Order has been able to provide continuity of staff, but the overall enrolments both now and in the future are higher than the other two schools. The alternative government High School is again well attended, and not seen as "alternative" in the terms of a Christian education. The Loreto Order has been most supportive of ecumenical initiatives, but precedents for development of Christian Community Schools by now existed.

Other Centres

At the time of writing (January 1977), the writer can indicate that another community in Victoria, this time in a less populated area, but also less served by secondary schools of any nature, has commenced the task of evolving its own school using the similar educational ethos for its programme. Its development will be more akin to that of Braemar, in that it will not be based on a former convent school.

Common to all three communities, has been the desire to provide an alternative secondary education. In being "alternative", it is to provide an educational programme of a particular nature that is freely available to the choice of parents and students within that community. Traditionally, the government has provided choice between High and Technical Schools. The Catholic system and the other independent schools, whether day or boarding provided still further freedom of choice. But the total programmes as offered were alternative but not similar.

The three communities in this paper sought either continuity of provision of a particular type of educational programme or to provide it for the first time. That it was to be co-educational and ecumenical instanced the desire to improve and extend the scope of the offering, and to take advantage of trends and developments in the contemporary situation.

The role of the community was crucial in all cases. It is suggested that in the case of the two schools evolving from convents, that the persons in the "community" involved represented a group already characterised by a common belief and thought structure, whereas the Braemar public meeting was representative of the community at large and should have been correspondingly diverse. That community meeting had the free will be decide amongst many options to open a school on similar lines to the one previously existing, to delete or further emphasise the Christian concept or even not to re-open a school at all.

In each situation, the circumstances were right for a school to evolve. In all three cases, there was a watershed or a catalyst event. In each case, the alternative was whether or not a Christian school, accessible to a wide spectrum of the community, would continue to be available. The corollary of this is that such ventures are not likely to occur where the alternative school already exists.

Finally, Maryborough and Portland are serving predominantly provincial centres with a developed community structure, both civic and spiritual. A few outlying communities are linked through the existing school bus services. Braemar has no such developed community, and has had to create its own. For instance, it officially serves three shires, but students come from another three municipal districts. The Anglican diocesan boundaries between Bendigo and Melbourne pass just south of the College. A bus service, independent of the existing government and registered school system, has had to be developed.

Spiritual and Educational Philosophy

The Preamble to the Articles of Foundation of Maryborough has also been adopted by Braemar with only minor amendments. It is reproduced in the Draft Educational Objectives:

> "The Christian Community School is an educational institution whose underlying philosophy is the Gospel. It will seek to serve the religious, moral and secular needs of its students and the community.
>
> "The educational environment of the school will seek to relate all particular truths to what it accepts to be the ultimate truth: God.
>
> "The school believes that every Educational system must be sustained by an underlying and unifying philosophy. It seeks explicitly to found itself on the world view that arises out of Judaeo-Christian Faith." (Source: Constitution and Articles of Foundation, Christian Community College, Maryborough.)

Heading the curriculum at all the schools is Religious Studies. Time equal in weight to other subjects is given to this subject, some three-quarters to inter-denominational ecumenically agreed religious material taken by the staff, and the remainder as a denominational segment, providing the opportunity to the participating Churches to have access to the students of their particular denominational allegiance. The schools vary in the way the denominational teaching is staffed.

The curriculum for years seven to ten is also similar, with English, History, Geography, Science, Mathematics, Art, Physical Education, Music, Home Economics and Languages. Braemar decided to make a Language subject obligatory for all students including year ten. This subject is either conventional French, a modified French or an extension of Language structure. Braemar devotes Friday afternoons to Activities, permitting considerable choice and diversity of experience.

Years eleven and twelve curricular is as broad as possible, with streams for Humanities, Mathematics and Science, and Commerce leading to tertiary entrance.

Maryborough in its current prospectus states that its aim is "To provide a high standard of teaching in academic AND VOCATIONAL SUBJECTS". Braemar, having inherited a school designed for girls, has tended to express its vocational emphasis in agricultural science and hobby activities, rather than the more conventional subjects, such as woodwork, metalwork and shorthand.

In all cases, the primary purpose of the institution is as a school. Quality and standard of work is emphasised and supported by a belief in the efficacy of homework and the importance of the primary skills.

The Ecumenical Basis

As may be appreciated from the attached Draft Educational Objectives (which are relatively appropriate and similar to those at Maryborough), the schools enjoy the participation of the various churches and their committees, both at the local and diocesan/provincial level.

Such participation preceded the establishment of Maryborough, but was readily given when requested by the Steering Committee in the case of Braemar. In effect, the participating Churches (e.g., in the case of Braemar, the Anglican, Catholic and Presbyterian/Uniting), are directly represented at the School Council level in the function of management, and in full participation in school life both by worship at assemblies, religious education, and spiritual development of staff and students.

Each participating church brings to its respective school the richness, strengths, and experience of its tradition. In the course of taking part in the school's life, the member of the school community both benefits from the great teachings and accomplishments of other churches and contributes his own.

That this co-operation of churches may take part and that such benefits may flow therefrom, renders the establishment of these schools of great significance. This sharing and working together of the churches within the school system is matched by achievements in other areas of life. It is well exemplified in the Braemar College motto, from 1st Corinthians, Chapter 10, Verse 17, "We, who are many, are One Body (In Christ)".

The College communities are deeply conscious of the significance of the support and initiatives taken by their respective participating churches in their establishment and currently to this date. Without such desires to share and assist each other in a true ecumenical spirit, the projects could not have come into being. Help and interest has flowed into the Colleges from those Churches at every level whether locally or from metropolitan and provincial centres far away. The heads of the Churches, as have other leading educationists, continually demonstrate their interest by direct personal participation. It is the writer's prayer that this relationship will continue and grow.

"Community"

It is difficult to define the term, "community". The writer has already used it many times with different meanings. It is rather like the drawing of circles — one circle within another. The largest circle is the entire population of the world.

In the case of Maryborough, the community, that was St. Joseph's School, expanded to include the community of those churches wishing to participate in an ecumenical venture to maintain the provision of an alternative school. In the course of the school's establishment, this community would have widended further to embrace all those who wished to be associated with the project. Such a community of support and participation is in a state of constant flux as new members enter and others leave.

In the case at Braemar, the initial community was Clyde. This was virtually blown apart through the announcement of merger and closure. Members of this group were forced to decide where they would go. The option was to seek membership of the enlarging Geelong Grammar community.

The public meeting which resulted in Braemar's establishment was open to the entire community within the Macedon area, and initial participation was completely open. Following the meeting the community would become increasingly defined through a particular association with the College. At the same time the College acknowledges responsibility to the public at large as in the original meeting.

Because Braemar commenced on a fully open basis, this created a precedent. Two further public meetings have since been held; the first to announce the formal opening of the school, the second to advise the community on progress with regards to purchase and other matters such as the fixing of fees. Since these public meetings have created or endorsed certain basic principles of the College, then any basic change must also be submitted to public resolution or be as a result of public demand.

Within the community of the Macedon area, the Shire of Newham and Woodend (in which Braemar lies) plays further important roles such as the original negotiation of the lease. The College has special responsibilities to specific groups, such as the Shire.

School Management

Both schools have representative school councils. The Braemar Board of Governors is based on a system of "thirds". Each of the three participating churches has two representatives each making one group. The Parents and

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Friends Association elects six persons. The third group consists of one member each from the local three shire councils, a representative of the Education Department of Victoria (namely the local Regional Director), the Ministry of Forests and as yet sixth position has not been allotted. Maryborough's council is somewhat similarly based.

Taking Braemar and its relationship to the community, the Board is accountable to that community, through its clerical, parent, civic and government representative. Traditional independent schools have been accountable to fewer "publics" or groups within their "communities".

Community Liaison

Maryborough successfully applied for grants and appointed a Community Liaison Officer at the commencement of 1976. This was in accordance with the policy of the College Council "whereby the College would serve the needs of the community, investigate social needs and develop appropriate relationships with schools and churches". (Annual Report, December 1976.) Many exciting projects have since been initiated.

Braemar, 7 kilometres from Woodend, and some thousand feet further up the mountain side, has by consequence played a different role. During 1976, the Town and Country Planning Board held an important seminar at the College. As at Maryborough, the facilities are available to the community, but Braemar's kitchen, dining room and bed accommodation lends it to hosting seminars, civic receptions and the like.

Parent Participation

Parents of students enrolled at Braemar are expected to undertake certain obligations. These naturally include a commitment to the Educational Objectives, but in addition involve a positive undertaking to assist both in fund raising activities and in carrying out certain tasks, such as school cleaning. In this way expenses can be reduced, and a lower fee structure can be fixed.

Additionally, the Mothers are invited to take part in rosters in the following areas: telephone duty, library, canteen, individual reading, gardening, sick bay and day to day cleaning.

Apart from the cost saving, this involvement of the family has led to many educational advantages together with improved parent, student, teacher relationships.

Parents and Friends Association

All the schools concerned enjoy active support from their parent groups. Well attended monthly parent meetings, supplemented by a Day Auxiliary, have been features of the Braemar scene from the early days. It was this Association that originally committed itself to the weekly cleaning of the school.

Activities

During 1976, the Braemar Community decided to have one main activity a term. These have been a Walkathon, a Ball and a Chicken and Cider Garden Party. Additional functions, such as family dances, have given further enjoyment and meaning to the family and community idea.

Staff and Students

The error is often made of defining "community" as being the community beyond the school and thus excluding staff and students. Not so with the community of the schools concerned. As far as the primary function of the College is concerned, the staff and students form the prime school community. This is the group that is effectively functioning day to day — it is the community that must of necessity "find itself" if the whole project is to survive.

Participation of both staff and students has been both sought and given. Weekly staff meetings are not new in the educational scene, but staff in a community college must be given every opportunity to take part fully in the decisions that affect the running of the school. This is desirable from every point of view, particularly when the step for staff to resign previous appointments and join in such a venture is taken into account. The writer takes no credit for facilitating a situation, that others would term, "releasing the power of the group". The situation created is exciting and demanding. Care in original staff selection is rewarded. The principal and staff become the key instrument by which the original aims are given life.

The student community at Braemar, unlike the other schools, was a coming-together of 200 students at all six form levels from many other schools reflecting a full spectrum of backgrounds and experiences. The welding together of this group is a story in its own right, but the situation that gradually evolved during the year gave the staff great joy and pleasure. A daily assembly and year (form) assembly, was supplemented by an Open Forum and a Delegates' meeting on Wednesdays. The Open Forum was conducted as a school parliament with a student chairman. It is contended that the students developed a strong feeling of association and belonging through these and other means.

Morning and afternoon, the Community Room at Braemar is the setting for a coming-together with the staff for tea and coffee of all adults working in the school (parents, visitors, technicians) and the year twelve students. Adults working in the school are encouraged to have their infant children with them if this will assist attendance. In this way, a very real family atmosphere can be and is created.

Problems of Participation

With accountability to groups near at hand, such as the parents, and to groups further afield, such as the public at large, community colleges may well make their task much more emotional and time consuming in their desire to satisfy this virtue and to reach consensus and understanding. Sir James Darling, now Patron of Braemar College, had this to say about the matter in his speech at the Annual Final Assembly (Sunday, 12th December 1976):

> "Finally, you are a community school; that is a school which invites the participation of council and friends and parents and even students in sharing in the responsibilities of the Headmaster and staff. Grand! But it is by no means easy to see how this can be best worked out in practice without weakening the school's ultimate responsibility for the making of decisions."

Sir James proceeded to outline an approach to assist in reaching a solution:

> "Participation means sharing the right to share in the expression of ideas about the common good, not what you happen to want at the moment for your own child and, indeed, sometimes it may be at the expense of that child. It is a new idea, not yet developed in detail. It does not mean the satisfying of the wants of each, nor even the precarious satisfaction of rule by a numerical majority. It means the right of minorities to be heard and considered, the opportunity indeed for all to be heard in the interests of the whole. It is not easy to achieve but it can work if those involved can recognise their responsibility, sometimes to sink their own wishes and having stated their position to leave the decision to those who have to bear the ultimate responsibility."

The writer considers that with a year's experience of participation, the main "casualty" has been that of time. In permitting the full expression of opinions and the desire to achieve consensus, there is often an exorbitant demand for the time of those who either must or wish to participate. The task for 1977 is to follow the example of Maryborough and develop an efficient executive. Representative meetings should then concern themselves with broad policy, changes thereto and maintenance of the same.

Community Standards

A reader of either the Constitution for Maryborough or the Draft Educational Objectives for Braemar will quickly perceive that the proposed standards of the schools concerned are not those popularly believed to be those of the community at large. The schools have set themselves to promote excellence in all things, whether school work, manners or dress. They have accepted the task to promote Christian ideals in an atmosphere of sacrifice and worship. Are these values reflecting accurately the values of the community at large? Yet, the schools place the work *community* in their titles. How can this apparent contradiction be explained?

One approach is to suggest that the term community has been narrowly defined to be that of the group seeking the values adopted and pursued by the school. Another could be that the community concerned is limited to a geographical area, and within that area a sufficient percentage of the residents seek that particular type of school for their students. At the same time, it could reflect the tolerance of the community in general to recognise that sub-communities exist and have their rights even though they may not reflect the majority pattern of behaviour.

The writer would strongly suggest that the inclusion of the word "community" in the school description cannot be explained by any one definition. It can be interpreted in the established school as being that Christian group to which membership is desired. Once established, the school provides a form of education, which may be selected or rejected because it is an alternative school. At the same time, there is an ultimate procedure whereby the community at large could make its voice heard and constitutionally vary the policy of the school. However, once institutionalised, this is less and less likely to occur.

There is the circular argument that implies that a community organisation must reflect the community values and has no right as such to be "out of step". Community behaviour is ever-changing and, hence by definition, there must be a group pulling one way or another to create the example for that change. These schools must be seen as examples of such groups in that they have clearly proclaimed their standards. To many observers, they appear to be "swimming against the tide". They do so without apology, but acknowledge the tolerance displayed by the greater community that they may exist and proclaim where they stand.

Summary and Conclusions

It is fact that three schools claiming in their titles to be Christian Community Colleges have either evolved from previously established schools or have been freshly created. It is also reasonable to claim that the schools have met with considerable success, if demand for enrolments and current parent appreciation is the criteria.

Although there are signs of other community groups seeking to establish similar institutions, caution must be exercised before readers seek to herald an educational trend that could lead to a complete change in the pattern of educational provision both in Victoria and further afield.

This possibility cannot be ruled out, but the evidence for such a conclusion just does not exist. Rather it is possible to say that in three cases where the opportunity existed, community groups have taken the encouragement shown by both State and Federal governments, both in departments and commissions, to show initiative in establishing a school autonomous and yet accountable to that community.

The established schools have demonstrated similar characteristics, in that they are Ecumenical, Christian, co-educational, secondary day schools. In addition they have written out and adopted codes demanding high standards in school work, manners and appearance. They seek to develop "the whole man". They have also proclaimed themselves to be accessible to the community they serve, and this "openness" is specifically in the area of economic ability to pay the fees should that family genuinely seek the type of education offered. That such a policy can be pursued with apparent success, and yet supply a very acceptable educational coverage in the curriculum, is due to the funding policies of the two governments as applied to each particular school in the State of Victoria.

With the eldest of the three schools not yet four years old, none of them can claim success on the test of time. Many difficulties could arise such as community participation in the management of schools, a clash of standard as demanded by the school as against that of the community at large, and financial and economical difficulties through the determination to maintain a non-elitist fee structure. These problem areas lie ahead to be overcome in the spirit of faith and determination that has characterised the schools' establishment. And if these difficulties were not enough, then the inherent risks arising from the ecumenical undertaking, might appear to be so daunting that the venture should never have been permitted to be begun.

It is fitting to draw again upon Sir James Darling's final assembly speech, when he quoted the poem of Sir Francis Drake attributed to him on his entry into Cadiz Harbour:

> "O, Lord God, when Thou givest to Thy servants to endeavour any great matter, grant us to know that it is not the beginning but the continuing of the same until it be thoroughly finished which yieldeth the true glory."

HAVE YOU HEARD THE SINGING IN THE GRASS?

J. E. WATSON

Mr. Watson, Director of the New Zealand Council for Educational Research was invited to take part in the Conference and to give a review of the proceedings at the end. In the first part of his address he spoke of the virtues of the city of Adelaide and of his enjoyment of the Conference itself. He also gently criticised the Conference for not having ensured much greater participation of the wider community, for having debate confined mainly to "specialists from some school-based sectors of the educational world". He said that he had chosen to adopt an historical rather than a forward-looking approach and hoped that his observations would touch off in his listeners' minds, achievements or aspirations worthy of further reflection. He then continued, "If you can envisage the past five years as a kind of spring season in Australian education I shall do my best to see if I can catch the sounds of the singing in the grass."

Signposts of a Decade

It is just precisely ten years ago this week since I came to my first conference in Australia, an International Residential Conference on Research in Education, organised at Melbourne Teachers' College, by ACER and inspired mainly by our esteemed colleague, the late Dr. W. C. Radford. Many of the 100 or more Australians who took part in that conference have had a prominent part in the proceedings of this Adelaide conference here this week, and I am sure I need to say very little to highlight why these two conferences provide benchmarks for me personally in identifying what has occurred in the Australian educational scene in the past ten years.

The purpose of that conference was first, to stimulate action in providing more resources for research, innovation, experimentation and dissemination and secondly, to debate alternative strategies for promoting educational reform within the Australian context. In opening that conference the Secretary of the Commonwealth Office, Sir Hugh Ennor, left us in no doubt that he was alert to the danger "that experts will meet, that they will discuss at length and that they will disperse but that nothing posiive will eventuate". In very clear terms he called for recommendations that could be put into practice. While I have doubts that the recommendations did emerge in precise and immediately operative terms most of you will know that Melbourne Conference had something of the attributes of an early spring flower in attracting the attention of the Commonwealth Government toward a more enterprising policy for promoting new developments, research and innovation.

In looking back over the papers presented at that Conference however, I have been struck by how few of the issues or questions raised at this conference here in Adelaide were in the minds of those who came together ten years ago. It is with special pleasure that I recall an early address by Professor Percy Partridge on the direction and goals of Australian society. In a rather different form he had addressed himself to a similar topic in the Buntine Oration to the 7th Conference of your own College in the previous year[1] and as a backdrop to our reflection on the conference we are now concluding I would like to bring back to your minds the concerns expressed by Professor Partridge in Sydney just ten years ago.

The conference theme for your College in that year was concentrated upon the attributes of good teaching, and the qualities of teachers, and it might be noted that no one foresaw a new role for them in promoting closer relationships between schools and their communities. With hind-sight it is now possible to see however, that Professor Partridge's address to that conference as a notable forecast, or an agenda if you like, of the educational issues that have emerged, not only in Australia, but more widely, and in my own country as well.

With regrettable over-simplification let me summarise the concern expressed in that oration as an eloquent plea for a more perceptive recognition of the tensions being created by the two major social forces which have been motivating educational change in our time. On the one hand, many nations have promoted an increasing democratisation of educational opportunity, in response to the upward thrust of less fortunate social groups, the demands of the young, and the diversification of tertiary education. Democratic governments during the 1960's have not only been prepared to cope with these demands but they have indeed fostered and encouraged them. Conversely, or on the other hand, we have been obliged to cope too with an astonishing growth and change in the industrial economy, and a revolution in the relationship between knowledge and social practice, all of which has meant that education systems have become more tightly integrated than ever before into the economic and social systems of our respective nations.

In a revealing commentary on tensions created by these two motivating influences, in harness or in conflict, Professor Partridge foresaw a very large number of the issues to arise in the decade to follow, from student disenchantment to decentralisation and tensions over values and priorities. He recognised that tensions of this kind were almost the inevitable outcome of a situation where the education system had become the primary avenue of occupational and social mobility but his deeper concern was that other objectives and functions were receiving less careful and earnest consideration.

Putting his argument briefly, he observed that modern education systems were serving their economies well by selecting, preparing and feeding into them the streams of well-trained men and women they need. However, he was much less sure that the Australian school system was serving its polity well by producing large numbers of young men and women with a background of judiciously chosen historical knowledge, with an instructed and critical understanding of political processes and issues, or a clear sense of the political and social realities of the modern world. In making this point, he reminded us that contemporary wealthy democracies like Australia, have been extraordinarily non-inventive during the last half century in reforming fundamental political and social institutions when one contrasts what they have done in using scientific and technological knowledge. Moreover, apart from the lack of intellectual liveliness and political enterprise that affects the character and performance of educational institutions, Professor Partridge went on to express disappointment that mass public education was exhibiting less interest, drive and determination in experimenting, or innovating and modernising its teaching of political and social disciplines than with its teaching of science or technology. Similarly, while preoccupied with training for particular vocations and professions it had become sluggish and pedantic in creating a "popular" political and social culture. In short, Partridge was asking us to reflect deeply on a component of something we may call a "common culture", common in the sense that it deals with matters of great concern to all members of the community, and to which Professor Johnson referred so eloquently in his Presidential Address and which others have echoed consistently in the syndicates. It seems to me therefore that Partridge's address to your College ten years ago, is of importance in summing our achievements of this week and I shall return to it.

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[1] Australian College of Education: *Teachers in Australia*. Melbourne, Cheshire, 1966.

Before doing so let me first identify another context out of which the agenda for this Adelaide Conference has surely arisen. In 1976, your conference concentrated on a critical review of new directions in Australian education and the selection of papers seem to me to be one of the most interesting books you have published. But my interest is directed mainly at the masterly opening chapter by Professor Bassett.[2] He drew attention to the vast amount of attention that has been given in educaional writing in Australia in the 1970's to the necessity for closer relationships between the education system and the community, and he warned against over-simplifying the issue.

That address provides a prospectus however from which we may view the changing relationships between Australian systems of schooling and their communities, for Dr. Bassett highlighted the processes of planning and innovation as well as the strategies for promoting reform and change which have been an exciting feature of Australian educational scene in the past five years or so. Clearly he was troubled lest a new era of restrained budgets, and a not so favourable political climate, might now result in a loss of nerve and an abandonment of innovations not yet firmly established or widely practised. If this danger is to be avoided he emphasised that it would be necessary to develop a systematic rationale for these new developments, a balanced scheme of in-service education for teachers and administrators to ensure that they become effective, and a communication network with the public to ensure that they are better understood and accepted. This injunction, if I interpret it correctly, was surely in the minds of those who organised this Adelaide Conference, and I assume they were greatly assisted too by the opening overtures provided by Bruce Henry and Shirley Randell in the 1976 programme with their compendious review of policies and programmes relating to school and community relationships. Against that background what has been achieved in this conference?

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[2] G. W. Bassett: "Perspectives on Recent Changes in Australian Education". In *New Directions in Australian Education*, Melbourne, 1976.

Community Education

For me personally, all of the themes jostling for expression in this conference were symbolised attractively in a forerunner symposium on Tuesday afternoon, when Senator Susan Ryan addressed a capacity audience on Schools and Sex Roles in the Twentieth and Twenty-first Centuries. In her presence at this conference, in the circumstances of her elevation to political office and in her concern for a significant minority, Senator Ryan seemed to me to epitomise what we have gathered here to discuss: the problem of how to revise the social contract between home and school in preparing the young with the role expectations and attitudes required for a brave new social order, the enterprise and imagination which may be expected of schools in adjusting to such new social aspirations, the realignments required in the locus of power or authority which determines the mission of your schools, the levels of political literacy and competence which affects the capacity of different strata in your social structure to share in responsibilities for administering your schools, the quality of the shared values, understandings and beliefs which will create a moral order to sustain institutions fostering enlightenment and compassion.

Against the background of my knowledge of his scholarly record in analysing the sources of power and prestige in the Australian social structure, I had hoped that Professor Solomon Encel would have dealt next morning with the manner in which the exercise of power or authority in your educational institutions distributes life chances in your community. If our vision is to become clearer, we are going to require a calm forecast of the extent to which a regeneration of conservative responses among parents, or in the body politic, is likely to out-flank well-meaning, but politically naive efforts to promote the community school idea. Again, it would have been helpful, I think, to have had a sociological clarification of how much common ground has been lost between home and school in fulfilling their respective responsibilities for inculcating the values, attitudes and beliefs that sustain private morality and personal ideals. You will recall that Professor Encel chose to deal more with the demographic expansion of schooling, its implications for what some people are pleased to call the "knowledge" industry, and the concern being expressed for more participative activity by various groups.

As a result, it seemed to me that a gap was opened between this lead paper and the six papers presented in the syndicates. Three of these by Fitzgerald, Haines and Morgan were strong, interesting and personal statements revealing much about their authors, as well as the standpoint from which they had written. In different ways, each was troubled that community education has become a cause without a reason. Two of the other papers, one by John Bambach, based on a grand tour of the country and the other by Norman Fary were informative reviews which might be usefully associated with a recent similar review by Hedley Beare.[3] Similarly, Mr. Farley's paper was a straightforward and fascinating account of the way in which three Christian community colleges had been conceived and nurteured in Victoria.

In the discussions that followed these papers, the signs of spring seemed to me to bear witness again of the rebirth of fraternity as a motivating social ideal for our times. If the nineteenth century was nominated by liberty, and the early twentieth century by a striving for equality, the climate today suggests that fraternity may be our preoccupation for the years ahead. All of you will have noted recently, I am sure, that an increasing number of issues and concerns in the body politic during the seventies have come to centre on the need for community, as a fact of life. In our respective societies, there has been a resurgence of humanitarian concern for those who lack knowledge, confidence or a feeling that something has been lost from our social relationships and that new ways should be found for helping people to express and to share their common humanity. There are fears that many of the beliefs we cherish about the justice of our social order are no longer true, and there is disharmony in the air between men and women, young and old, and those of different race or creed. There is thus a pressure on those who have authority, or specialised knowledge to be more open in the way they exercise their power and influence and to do so in ways that will add to the competence of ordinary people. There is a concern that forms of organisation should place less emphasis on hierarchy, pecking-orders and visible chains of command. And almost without exception, all of the major institutions of our respective societies are affected by this mood for change which seems more than a passing whim. It is therefore unreasonabgle and possibly even arrogant, to assume that schools need not to be affected by it. As educators we might well ask:

(1) What firm evidence can we produce to show that the attributes of a good community are fostered by the opportunities available for its citizens to use the facilities of their local school?

(2) What evidence do we have that community-oriented schools, characterised by broad participation, are indeed more effecive in achieving the besic intellectual and social purposes of schooling for the young?

(3) When we applaud the achievements of community-oriented schools in catering for adult needs, how often do we take careful note of who has been involved in forming policies, or making decisions? Do the participants continue to be mainly the educationally privileged? What progress has been made in providing educational opportunities that are congenial and easily accessible to people whose educational attainments are limited but whose needs are great?

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[3] Hedley Beare: "School and Community as Educational Partners". In *Policies for Participation: Trends in Educational Administration in Australia and New Zealand* (edit. John E. Watson). Wellington, NZEAS, 1977.

Education of the Community

These are all questions which we began to explore on Thursday. Here you will not need a lengthy reminder of the inspiration provided by Professor Jonathan Anderson in elevating our vision to a recognition that the social order we seek to create will not exist in a vacuum. It will achieve reality only in so far as it is harmoniously embedded in its various environments, a biophysical environment frequently raped and plundered by man's avarice, a demographic environment haunted by Malthusian dilemmas in regard to food and sustenance, the economic environment governing man's work, the promise and degradation of vast urban settlements, the ubiquitous communication networks for conveying information, entertainment, energy and goods. With apt and startling detail Jonathan Anderson gently guided us toward the hilltops and from that vantage point he excited us with his plea that we equip ourselves with a panoramic and global view of man's plight, prepare ourselves for a broader participation in community planning, and strive with others for a moral order which will enable mankind to benefit from the vast promise of the arts as well as the sciences. Finally he invited us to join him in recognising the responsibilities we have for moulding public attitudes and aspirations. If I have detected your response correctly, few in the audience were unmoved and not many were dauted by the obligations he placed before you. It seemed to me that we were treated to a distinctively fresh and up-to-date re-interpretation of the realities that troubled Professor Partridge ten years ago about the education of the polity, and which have resurfaced in many other ways in this conference.

Once again, the syndicates were fortunate in the quality of the six papers available to them, all strong and provocative statements by enthusiastic professionals, scanning educational horizons from respective Dariens in the spirit of ancient mariners. Each of their papers will repay careful study by those not fortunate enough to converse with their authors and each differs quite strikingly from the other.

Paul Paviour, as befits a composer and performing artist, has wielded his baton lustily, and in my judgment, with telling effect in contrasting the appalling state of music education in the school system with the dramatic upsurge of interest in the artistic humanities among the public at large. One fears what might happen if the educational imperalists set out to capture and enslave these modern daughters of the muses. But no matter, a modern Zeus also resides in New South Wales. For Brother Duffy must surely be honoured both for the brevity of his wit, and perceptiveness of his advocacy of the suggestion that the catalystic expertise required by the community education movement be obtained from the persistent spirit and first class minds of the elders in our profession.

The other three papers presented yesterday were longer, more compendious reviews of the educational landscapes that are inhabited nowadays by adult learners in South Australia and Victoria. From quite different hilltops, Colin Cave, Louis Kloeden and Robert Rowlands looked out over downlands of astonishing vitality, enterprise and scope. The scale of the responsibilities of the Department of Further Education in this State, for instance, seemed almost astonishing and it is apparent that we all have a great deal to learn from the experience of South Australia in providing for the educational needs of the neglected ,the disadvantaged and the socially or economically-deprived sections of the adult population.

But before we are swept off our feet by the scale of these centrally-delivered provisions, we would do well to study carefully the issues raised by Cave in reviewing the experience of Victoria in providing alternatives to the formal school system, alternative policies, programmes, attitudes, and values. This is an important paper if we are expecting a new education to quench the hunger for fraternity, to reduce the dependency of citizens on centralised bureaucracies, or to rescue those floundering in a welter of sound or a sea of materialist values. From a rather different perspective, Robert Rowlands was concerned with much the same issues, how to develop problem-solving services for a learning and teaching society, how to shift the locus of power within existing institutions, how to transform a major department of state into a facilitating rather than a controlling authority, and so on. There was much scope here for debate, for exploration and for reflection. Let me ask another three questions.

(1) Are we in danger of assuming that the large amount of learning being undertaken by certain adults signifies a change of heart ,or a broadening of interest, among those who have never been much concerned?

(2) To what extent are we expecting educational policies to become a stimulus for, or a means of delivering, wider community development policies that have traditionally been catered for by other agencies?

(3) Will measures be required to strengthen national and cultural unity, as a counter-balance to educational policies that foster institutional autonomy and localism?

The Community in Education

Having discovered on Wednesday what meanings we were attaching to the symbols on the road maps and having taken a quick look from the administrative hill-tops on Thursday, I had been looking forward to Friday morning as the time when we could get down to the state of our crops in the educational lowlands.

To begin the day, Shirley Sampson invited us to ponder once again on the woman question. She reminded us that too often our preoccupations with this issue are confined to surface features instead of the essence of the relationships between the sexes. It is obvious surely that one of the main obstacles to a new concept of equality between the sexes is the continuing predominance of male norms as the defining norms for both sexes. As a result, we too often perceive the problem as one for girls, instead of both girls and boys, as a problem of schooling, rather than of socialisation. We are thus inclined to speculate on solutions in instrumental terms, as if the whole thing was a matter of marketable knowledge. The experience of the past decade has surely shown however, that competence in mathematics or science or other subjects which open the way to male professions or occupations is not enough to enable aspiring girls to make their way into male domains. Our attention will have to be turned to the entire structure of attitudes, expectations and roles, rather than to simply technical competence, if schools and society are to modify significantly deeply engrained relationships between the sexes. With this prospect, we may safely predict a period of much heart-searching if schools are to evolve a new contact with the home in providing for the socialisation of the sexes, and if such concerns are to become a unifying link for the common understandings we seek for all.

However, it is my impression that this was not one of the guidelines issued to the authors of this morning's syndicate papers. Judged by the papers presented, the objective appears to have been to bring us closed to the reality of what is happening in Australian schools, the reactions of parents and teachers to current enthusiasm for more open schooling, their responsiveness to community concerns, and some observations on the success of the policies adopted in promoting change, reform and innovation. Following on from the papers presented last year in Melbourne by Bruce Henry and Shirley Randell,[4] it seemed to me that some parents, principals or practising teachers might well have been invited to spot-light the distinctiveness of various approaches in the disadvantaged schools programme or from the education centres you have established throughout the land, or some of the many unusual schools outside Victoria and South Australia that bear upon the theme of the conference and of which John Bambach had spoken on Wednesday.

It is no fault of those who contributed papers to syndicates on this final day but I would mislead you if I did not admit that I was a little disappointed that this part of the programme was not a little more stage-managed. True, we did hear about the activities of community liaison officers in Sydney and Canberra, about the community relationships of a College of Education in Canberra, and a high school in South Australia. We were also treated to more general papers on teacher and parent attitudes, a cautious paper about the involvement of the community in higher education, and quick glimpses of activities with which some colleagues have been associated with in Korea, Singapore and Illinois. We did not, it seems to me, advance our understanding of the different meanings which lighthouse schools in your various states are now giving to the idea of service to their various communities.

It is clear that some fascinating differences have begun to emerge already in the kind of involvement of the community that occurs in providing educational facilities in the Northern Territory, or say the Lance Holt schools, the Yanchep Community School, or Carine High School in Western Australia, or Rosny College in Hobart, or the Black Community School in

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[4] B. E. Henry: "Community Involvement in Education", and S. K. Randell: "The School and Community". In *New Directions in Australian Education*, Melbourne, 1976.

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Townsville, or the home-based Coonara Children's Community School in Victoria, the Blue Mountains Community School in New South Wales, or the South East Corner School here in Adelaide and so on. All of these schools, in one way or another, have opted for a concept of the school as a society, enlisting the co-operation of other community agencies, and deliberately seeking social progress in service to the needs of youth and adults alike. We know that they also have varying perceptions of their mission and none would claim that they are able to cope with all of the intellectual or social problems of their clients. But such schools have chosen to exercise leadership in helping people to cope with their intellectual, recreational, vocational, health or civic problems. The question to which we might have given more attention, it seems to me, is the extent to which a wider range of schools is now ready, and able, to take up an obligation for improving the quality of living in the communities they serve, and for promoting the ideal of fraternity as a primary motivating ideal for our times. By now you will have realised that I make a habit of introducing more questions than I settle and I do not wish to disappoint you. Here are another three questions.

(1) What are the implications of encouraging or obliging teachers to re-order the values and customs of particular communities, and of using schools as a means for promoting social change?

(2) To what extent should school programmes reflect the linguistic ecology, or the cultural values, or the diverse needs of ethnic minorities, in the community which sustains a school?

(3) To what extent, and in what contexts, should the needs or values of the local community take precedence over the wider civilising role of the school in determining its teaching styles, internal organisation and curriculum?

Toward an Assessment

Let me now stand back and try to place the conference in context. Our aim, I assume, has been to look back over the last five years of intense innovative activity in Australian education, and to try to assess whether less adequate financial resources, a more conservative political climate, or public disenchantment now constitute a threat to what has been gained. In so far as a conference of this kind makes it possible to achieve a balanced perspective on all of the issues that crowd in on such an assessment, I have suggested that we might use Professor Bassett's prescription as a benchmark. Do you yet see the outline of a systematic rationale for programmes designed to gradually shift the locus of power over what happens in your schools in regard to their relationships with the community or the communities they service? What progress have you seen toward a balanced national effort in preparing teachers and administrators to ensure the effctiveness of reforms? What impovements have been initiated to ensure that they are better understood by parents, taxpayers and the public generally?

Now the basic issue at stake in all of our educational debates over the past ten years has been how best to equip schools and colleges to cope intelligently with the changing demands and pressures of contemporary life and civilisation. The major challenge to established teaching practice has hinged on the quite simple observation that schooling becomes effective only in so far as it engages the active participation of each individual in his or her own education. Presumably no one assumes that schools should adopt all available or proposed innovations in pursuing that objective, or that they should claim the privilege of acting entirely as autonomous agents by rejecting all reasonable proposals for change. The problem then is to strike a balance between social responsibility and internal creativity, between the stabilising elements of tradition and the mobilising influences for change. How best can public authorities, who have the responsibility for setting up and administering schools, create conditions which will give teachers scope to be more responsive and wise in coping with contemporary demands. This is the question being grappled with in all nations with which I have had a nodding acquaintance in my professional career since 1945.

And viewed from afar, if not from Canberra, Perth, Toowoomba, or Kookaburra North, the Australian approaches to the planning of social change through education in this period have been exciting, instructive, honest, and clearly visible for all to see or at least for the teaching profession to see. Among educators, there is already an uncommon knowledge of the milestones, the famous reports, the personalities, the hopes and the frustrations of a decade just passed, when the ferment in the educational scene here has probably been as fruitful as at any previous time in your history. Hence this is not the place or the time for a detailed analysis of the underlying assumptions, the habits, or the philosophies that have underpinned the strategies you have adopted in promoting the major reforms on which you have embarked with enviable vigour and resolve. May I simply draw your attention to the perceptive interpretations which have more latterly come from those scholars whose allegiance to the cause of helping your schools to be more responsive has never been in doubt. I refer especially to an illuminating article by Peter Musgrave in the *Australian Journal of Education*,[5] which has since been supplemented by the writings of others.

While I hesitate to draw a comparison with the strategies for promoting change adopted in my own small country it may help you to understand the points being made by those observers if you will permit me to do so. The observations being offered by your own commentators suggest that recent Australian strategies for promoting change have depended heavily on rationality, that your planners have taken a too simplistic view of the process of planned change, that they have persisted with the centralised problem-defining habits of decision-making, that implementation has lacked openness, and that it has under-emphasised the general political activity needed to bring about change and to create a well-informed public to sustain it. This is a sweeping and over-simplified summary.

Now when compared with the cumulative wisdom in the reports of your numerous committees of enquiry in the past 10 or 25 years, or the dramatic expansion in your innovative rhetoric in the past decade, or the talent and resources assembled in your commissions in Canberra to implement change, social and educational planning in New Zealand over the same period seems to have been bumbly in the extreme. We have never been quite sure what to do with anyone who considers himself to be an expert, we are always hard-up, we are inherently conservative, and we have not yet really discovered what an industrialised democracy is all about. Hence it is scarcely surprising that we have not yet escaped from the old-fashioned idea that the schools belong to the people, and that they need help in making up their minds what they want done with them.

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[5] P. W. Musgrave: "Changing Society: Some Underlying Assumptions of the Karmel Report. *The Australian Journal of Education*, 19, No. 1, March 1975.

Faced then with the common problem of how best to equip schools to cope with changing demands, we have followed, by accident almost, quite different steps toward reform from those you have chosen in Australia. Let me assure you that the whole emphasis on promoting participative administration, life-long education, up-graded vocational training, and community involvement is just as lively with us, and while on guard against smugness, most of us would agree that our outlook has promise for steady if not spectacular advances.

Once again, I assume that the documentary evidence on our different approach to consultative planning and public involvement will be known to many of you. Our initial experiments with indicative planning covering all sectors of economic, social and cultural life, may be said to have begun in 1967-68 with the setting up over a 12-month period of a 16-sector National Development Conference. It was very clear in those days that the needs of the economic system were paramount and you will recognise immediately then why, as a participant in that planning, I valued so highly the clarification of issues whch Professor Patrridge placed before your 1966 conference. Out of these initial efforts at indicative national planning in New Zealand at the beginning of the decade, sixteen sector councils were established to set targets for all major components of our national life, cultural, economic, and social. One of these was an Advisory Council on Educational Planning, which, in 1972-74, went on to organise a massive Educational Development Conference and for which it is claimed that more than 60,000 citizens were involved.[6] Since that time, this flexible strategy has been adjusted further, in the light of changing circumstances, with the publication of the report of a task force[7] and the setting up of a comprehensive New Zealand Planning Council.

However, the important point to be noted here is that the principle achievement of the Educational Development Conference in New Zealand was to educate large numbers of the public, and the teaching profession, on the prevailing attitudes to education held by different groups, and to identify

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[6] For a succint review see Sir Frank Holmes: "Lay and Professional Participation in Educational Administration in New Zealand. In *Policies for Participation*, op. cit., pp. 79-96.

[7] *New Zealand at the Turning Point*. Report of the task force on economic and social planning (Chairman, Sir Frank Holmes). Wellington, December 1976.

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the opportunities that exist for progress through the collaboration of education institutions, parents and other groups in the community. More by good luck than rational analysis or grand rhetoric, we may have thus possibly avoided the weaknesses which Musgrave and others have idenified in the strategies adopted in Australia. Few of us would have ever predicted that the aspirations represented in these conferences would so quickly become incorporated into the election manifestos of our major political parties. But having made the comparison I must emphasise that our approach has been a product of a long historical tradition which is surely not exportable, even over such a short expanse as the Tasman Sea. We are simply not in the business of suggesting that you import your educational theology or recruit a new generation of educational missionaries.

Here in this land, and in this conference, it has been my impression that you have already begun to shape a new Australian theology and the task as I see it is to proclaim it clearly and consistently in well-publicised effort, for all to see. Similarly, it is my perception, that whatever the viccisitudes of the present economic circumstances, you have already tasted the rewards of successful educational experiment, you now understand more perceptively the message that Professor Partridge brought to you ten years ago, you now possess a more instructed and critical understanding of political processes and issues, and you now perceive more realistically the role of schools in creating a social order more fitting to this time and place.

Here in the antipodes, removed from the complex geopolitics of the northern hemisphere, and the Mathusian dilemmas faced by more densely populated lands, I believe you have begun to evolve a social order that others may admire rather than envy. It will become a social order, if I judge the signs correctly, where democracy is achieved without vulgarity and difference without hate, where the majority is without tyranny and the minority without fear, where respect for the past is not reaction and hope for the future is not revolution. If in these simple words I have managed to capture some of your aspirations, then your College, and this 18th Conference, may have initiated an agenda of profound significance in helping the Australian community to understand what it might reasonably expect of its schools.

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